Supplement to LANGUAGE, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America

LANGUAGE DISSERTATIONS

PUBLISHED BY THE

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

EDITED BY

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING
Ohio State University

HANS KURATH
Ohio State University

SAMUEL MOORE
University of Michigan

EDWARD SAPIR
University of Chicago

NUMBER V SEPTEMBER, 1929

STUDIES IN THE SYNTAX OF THE OLD ENGLISH PASSIVE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE USE OF *WESAN* AND *WEORÐAN*

BY

LOUISE GRACE FRARY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA DISSERTATION

WAVERLY PRESS, INC.
BALTIMORE

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Founded 1924

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Entered as Second Class Matter at the Postoffice at Baltimore, Maryland.

This Journal is published quarterly by the Linguistic Society of America. Members of the Society receive it without extra charge, three dollars of the annual dues being appropriated for this purpose; to others, its price is five dollars per annum. Subscriptions and other business communications should be addressed to Language, or to Roland G. Kent, Treasurer, L. S. A., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. Manuscripts for publication should be sent to George Melville Bolling, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

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The author wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to Professor Frederick Klaeber of the University of Minnesota, under whose guidance the following study was undertaken and completed.

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I. INTRODUCTION

§1. The Passive in General

The terms active and passive have become purely arbitrary ones, but, although misnomers if taken in their literal sense, the meaning is sufficiently clear to all students of grammar. The passive voice[1] is used when the interest centers upon the subject of the sentence as the objective of the action expressed by the verb, or when the relation between the verb and its thought-object is stressed.[2] Thus in the sentence: 'My son was killed yesterday', the thought-subject is not even expressed, so important is the connection between the thought-object 'my son' and the verb. If, however, the interest were in the perpetrator of the crime, the sentence might be: 'That man killed my son'. For this form of the verb, the term active has come to be used. The addition of the agent or the means of the action gives the sentence a slightly different emphasis, but if the chief interest is still on the thought-object, the verb retains its passive form: 'My son was killed by a freight-train (by his brother, etc.)'. It should be noticed that the passive is more frequently used without the agent, the interest being entirely centered on the thought-object of the verb, i.e. the subject-passive. In many instances where the passive is used, the thought-subject is unknown.

In all Germanic languages there is a strong tendency to prefer the active idea to the passive. The individual languages differ however in degree—English, for instance, makes greater use of the passive than does German. This prominence of the passive in modern English has been attributed to the loss of substantive inflections, a circumstance which has led to the practice of placing the subject first in the sentence. When logical or stylistic considerations demand that the object come first, it is simpler to convert this object-active into the subject-passive. The older dialects in their preference for the active are more on a par

[1] Jespersen (*Philosophy of Grammar* 164) objects to the term 'voice' with good reason, and his suggestion of 'active and passive turn' is apt. For our purposes the term 'voice' will be retained as the more common one.

[2] See Owen, 'Meaning of the Passive', *Wisconsin Academy* 17. 77 ff.

with the modern German.[3] An especially interesting example of this use of the active is found in the Gothic: *Mk.* 2. 22 ak wein juggata in balgins niujans giutand *'οἶνον νέον. . . .βλητέον'*, where the King James' version has: 'must be put into new bottles' and Luther's text: 'man soll Most in neue Schläuche fassen'.

The most common way of avoiding the passive is probably by the use of the indefinite 'man', although the very fact that the subject-active is unknown or indefinite would lead one to expect the passive. This use of 'man', which is continued in the modern German, has been lost in English, but its place has been filled by 'they', i.e. 'they say', 'they do', 'they are going to', 'they want to', etc., although the careful platform speaker will probably prefer the more formal passive.[4]

In the Germanic languages the simple infinitive frequently is used in a sense equivalent to the modern English passive. In this respect the Germanic languages may be said to represent an older stage than the Greek and Latin, where the infinitive has special forms for the different voices and tenses. This older use of the active infinitive, where the modern reader might expect a passive form, is found in the Gothic: *Luke* 5. 15 Jah garunnun hiuhmans managai hausjon, jah *leikinon* fram imma sauhte seinaizo 'came to hear and to be healed by him of their diseases', and *Matt.* 6. 1 Atsaihwiþ armaion izwara ni taujan in andwairþja manne *du saihwan im* 'take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen by them'. The use of the dative in the latter passage suggests especially the verbal noun, as in the modern German 'ihnen zum sehen'. The construction is especially common after verbs of commanding, seeing, hearing, etc., as in the first stanza of the *Nibelungenlied*: von fröuden, hôchgezîten. . .muget ir nu wunder hoeren

[3] An impersonal passive with the dative seems to be idiomatic. Cf. Ælfric, *Lives of Saints* 8. 114 *þæt þinum life beo geborgen.* Similarly in the Gothic: *Matt.* 9. 17 *jah bajoþum gabairgada.* 20. 65 *wearð him þa geþuht.* 21. 40 *forþan þe him is getiþod þæt. . . . Matt.* 7. 2 *eow bið gedemed* 'iudicabimini'. *Beowulf* 1103 *þa him swa geþearfod wæs.* 2284 *wæs. . . bene getiðad feasceaftum men.* 1787 *þa wæs. . . ellenrofum. . . fægere gereorded. Deor* 26: *þæt þæs cynerices ofercumen wære.* It seems probable that the same construction is found in the modern German: 'Dir sei dafür herzlich gedankt', where the dative object of the active is retained when the sentence is converted into the passive. See Curme, *Grammar of the German Language* 527 f.

[4] There is an interesting passage in *Genesis B* 318, where *man* is used with definite reference to God: *worhte man hit him to wite.* A similar case is found in *Beowulf* 2355 *þær mon Hygelac sloh.*

sagen, and the first line of the *Hildebrandslied*: Ik gihorta ðat seggen.[5] Compare the OE *Dream of the Rood* 51 geseah ic weruda God / þearle þenian. Ibid. 4 þæt ic gesawe syllicre treow / on lyft lædan.[6]

§2. Development of the Passive and Peculiarities in Different Dialects

Already in Indo-European,[7] there were both simple forms and periphrastic forms, the simple having grown out of an older reflexive form, as the Greek middle and the Latin deponent, while the periphrastic was modeled after the predicate adjective construction. The individual Germanic dialects differ in their retention of these Indo-European elements and in the introduction of new ones. The simple passive is retained throughout the present tense in the Gothic, though simplified, while the isolated forms *heiti*[8] 'he is called' and *hatte* are found in Old Icelandic and Old English, respectively. Even in the Gothic, however, the periphrastic passive is also used in the present,[9] and it is the prevailing form in all the Germanic languages.

Old Icelandic is peculiar in its preference for a new formation made by adding the accusative or dative of the reflexive pronoun[10] to the

[5] Compare the provincial modern English: 'I have heard tell' and the word 'hearsay'.

[6] For discussion of this subject and especially of this passage, see Schücking, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der Angelsächsischen Dichtersprache* 56 f. See also Sundén, 'Predicational Categories', *Uppsala Univ. Årsk.* (1918) 101 ff.; 248 f.; 250 f.; 276 ff.; 288 ff.; 350 ff.; 386.

[7] For a concise statement regarding this point, see Sommer, *Vergleichende Syntax der Schulsprachen*, 46–53.

[8] Sievers was the first to explain this form. See *PBB* 6. 563 f.

[9] The construction with *wisan* is quite frequent; Skladny gives 7 instances with *waírþan* (*Phil.* 1. 20; *I. Thess.* 5. 7; *I. Cor.* 9. 27; *Mk.* 9. 12; *Luke* 6. 40; 14. 12; *II. Thess.* 2. 3). For more detailed discussion of the Gothic passive, see Skladny, 'Ueber das Gotische Passiv', *Jahresbericht des Königl. Kath. Gymn. zu Neisse* (1873).

[10] A use of a reflexive verb to express the passive is frequently met with in other languages. Note the Gothic: *Luke* 6. 17 *qemun hausjan imma jah* hailjan sik *sauhte seinaizo* 'came to hear him and to heal themselves of their diseases'; *I. Tim.* 3. 13 *laisjand sik* 'are taught, learn'. Similarly in the *OE Gospels*: *Mk.* 4. 29 *þonne se wæstm* hine forð bringð 'when the fruit brings itself forth', which translates the Latin reflexive 'cum se produxerit fructus'. Cf. *Beow.* 1722 *Ðu þe lær be þon.* Compare the French: 'le mot ne s'emploie plus'; 'la langue française se parle dans toute l'Europe'; and the German: 'er nennt sich'; 'es findet sich'. This seems to be a persistence of the IE tendency noted above to develop a passive construction from a reflexive form. Cf. Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik* §194.

active verb as: *ko̯llumk, kallask* 'I am, he is called'. In Gothic there is a group of inchoative verbs with a *-nan* suffix which have a passive meaning as: *gaháilnan, gafullnan, usluknan,* and the passive construction is frequently avoided by using them. Remnants of similar verbs are found in other dialects.[11]

As is well known, there are two chief auxiliaries used to form the periphrastic passive in the Germanic languages, the one combining the three IE stems **u̯es, *es,* and **bheu,* the other coming from **u̯ert* 'to turn'. The dialects differ both in their development of tense forms from these stems and in their use of the two auxiliary verbs. In Old English there are two complete and separate paradigms in the present, i.e. *beon* and *wesan,*[12] and this is a complicating factor in the consideration of the passive in that dialect. Heusler[13] concludes that *vera* is the usual auxiliary of the passive in Old Icelandic, while *verþa* is seldom used in a purely passive sense and only at a later period.[14]

§3. Problem and Method

The study of the passive in Old English is essentially the study of the periphrastic passive, and particularly of the distinction between *wesan* (*beon*) and *weorðan* when used as auxiliary verbs of the passive. An extensive study of *beon* and *wesan* was made by Jost[15] (1909), and an additional study by Exter[16] (1912), so that it is unnecessary to pay special attention to that distinction in this discussion.[17] While previous grammarians had thought that *beon* functioned as a future and thus

[11] Erdmann (*Dt. Syntax* 83) calls attention to the fact that the only remnant of the *-nan* suffix verbs in OHG is *lernên* 'to be taught, to learn' from the same stem as *lêren* 'to teach'. Examples from Old Icelandic are *vakna* 'to be wakened'; *fúna* 'to become rotten'; *grána* 'to become gray'; *brotna* 'to be broken'.

[12] It has recently been suggested by Keller in an article entitled 'Keltisches im englischen Verbum', *Anglica, Palaestra* 147. 55 ff., that this use of the two forms throughout the present, which is not found in any other Germanic language, may have been borrowed from the Celtic, where the same usage exists. It is hard to prove this.

[13] *Altisländisches Elementarbuch* 426 f.

[14] This point should not be forgotten in considering the falling out of *weorðan* in Middle English, since the predominance of *vera* in this construction in Old Norse very probably had its influence over the similar construction in Old English.

[15] Jost, 'Beon und Wesan, eine syntaktische Untersuchung', *Angl. Forschungen* 26. 1–141.

[16] Exter, Beon *und* Wesan *in Alfreds Uebersetzung des Boethius*; Kiel diss. 1912.

[17] It should be noted that both of these discussions deal with *beon* and *wesan* chiefly as substantives and copulatives, less as auxiliaries of the passive. Sections 148–59 of Jost's investigation deal definitely with the passive.

supplemented *wesan*, Jost showed that the fundamental difference was between the abstract (*beon*) and the concrete (*wesan*). Our problem then is to study *wæs* and *wearð* in passive constructions in past time, and *wesan* (*beon*) and *weorðan* similarly in present time. The distinction between *beon* and *weorðan* is an important one.

Previous studies in the OE passive have followed two rather definite trends. The earlier group of students approached the subject largely from a Latin view-point. Ælfric was the first of this Latinistic group, and later grammarians have occasionally referred to his *Grammar of the Latin Language*, written about 1000 A.D., sometimes drawing false conclusions regarding OE verb forms from Ælfric's OE translations of the Latin paradigms. An example is Ælfric's rendering of 'amor' by: Ic eom gelufod... ic wæs gelufod... ic wæs fulfremedlice gelufod (perfect)... ic wæs gefyrn gelufod (pluperfect)... ic beo gelufod gyt (future), etc.[18] One notes that, except for the simple tenses, he was forced to build up unidiomatic and complicated OE phrases to render the Latin. Ælfric does not use the auxiliary *weorðan* anywhere in his grammar to translate the Latin passive, although this use is common in his original work and translations. The Latin model is doubtless responsible for this omission. The form *wesan* was probably associated with the passive in his mind as a sort of formula, while the expression with *weorðan* was felt to be a free, individual, and idiomatic one.

The influence of Ælfric's grammar is seen in March's *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (1870), where *wæs fulfremedlice gelufod*, *wæs gefyrn gelufod* are given as examples of perfect and pluperfect tenses respectively.[19] March builds up his paradigms with both *wesan* and *weorðan* throughout, and notes that in the present '*weorðe*, *eom*, and *beom* interchange'.[20] There is quite a group of works on syntax which consider the passive among other parts of speech, but those sections are little more than compilations of passive forms, grouped according to the Latin scheme of tenses. This grouping is based largely on the Latin forms and is often inaccurate from the Old English viewpoint.[21]

[18] Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar* 139 f.

[19] Page 189.

[20] Page 90 f.

[21] Thus Kühn in his *Syntax des Verbum in Ælfrics Heiligenleben* has listed as pluperfect several forms with the auxiliary *weorðan*. Wülfing's *Syntax in den Werken Alfred des Grossen* is typical. Here examples are listed from all of Alfred's works, and frequently from other works, without comment, the same stress being laid on a passage from *Bede* as on one from *Orosius*. The Latin form is given, if there is one, and the grouping made on that as a basis. For similar studies, see *Bibliography* under Wohlfahrt, Schmidt, Dewitz, Schürmann, Nader. Others like Lussky and Öberg have used a combination method.

The second group of studies in the passive was given its impetus by Streitberg's work on perfectivation. His terminology, which classes the 'aspects' of verbs as imperfective (durative), momentary-perfective, durative-perfective, and iterative, is well known.[22] When applied to the study of the passive, Streitberg's theory suggested a reason for the varying use of *weorðan* and *wesan*, and fundamentally the principle seems correct, that *wesan* is used with imperfective verbs to circumscribe the passive, while, with perfectives, *weorðan* forms the present and preterite, and *wesan* forms the perfect and pluperfect passive. Several difficulties arise, however. In a verb system like that of the Slavic languages, the distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs is a clear-cut one, but, although the Germanic languages may have originally had as sharp a distinction, it has gradually been lost. Evidence of this is seen in the use and disuse of the prefix *ge-*, originally a sign of perfectivation. By analogy *ge-* was added to the past participles of verbs already perfective, and to simple duratives, without a change of meaning, until it came to be merely the sign of the past participle. In the same way an OE verb frequently has a durative meaning in one context and a perfective in another. Scholars also disagreed on terminology. The terms suggested by Streitberg did not satisfy; new ones were coined by each succeeding critic,[23] until it has become necessary for each scholar to indicate whose terminology he follows.

A dissertation by Wuth[24] is noteworthy, since he has applied a subjective test in determining the classification of verbs, considering each instance in the light of its context. Wuth points out a fundamental difference between Germanic and Slavic as regards perfectivation,[25] i.e. that in Germanic there are two types of verbal expressions, the one being a statement of fact, 'Konstatierung', the other, descriptive,

[22] Streitberg, 'Perfektive und imperfektive Aktionsart im Germanischen', *PBB* 15. 71–177; *Urgermanische Grammatik* 280; especially *Gotisches Elementarbuch* §285, Note 4.

[23] See Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Grammatik d. idg. Sprachen* §636; Lindroth, *PBB* 31. 238 ff.; Herbig, *IF* 6. 157 ff.; Delbrück, *Syntax* 2. 1 ff.; Pederson, *KZ* 37. 220 ff.; Sarauw, *KZ* 38. 145; Deutschbein, *ESt.* 54. 79 ff.; Deutschbein, *System d. neuengl. Syntax* §36; Noreen, *Vårt Språk* 5. 607; Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* 1. 153; Jespersen, *Philosophy of Grammar* 286–9; Paul, *Dt. Grammatik, Syntax* 369; Pollack, *PBB* 44. 352 ff.; Funke, *ESt.* 56. 2 ff.

[24] Alfred Wuth, *Aktionsarten der Verba bei Cynewulf*; diss., Leipzig, 1915.

[25] Page 12 f. Wuth also calls attention to the relation between meter and the use or lack of the prefix *ge-*. The same principle applies to the inflection or lack of inflection of the participle.

'Betrachtung'. In the former he notes a purely verbal concept, without regard for 'aspect', although in its interpretation in the sentence the verb may seem to be perfective. The 'Betrachtung' pictures the action as definitely imperfective, or as definitely ingressive or effective. For Wuth's conclusions, see pp. 110–18 of his dissertation, especially §7.

It may be seen that neither the Latinistic school nor that which has followed Streitberg in his theory of 'perfectivation' has been entirely successful in applying its methods to the study of the passive. Germanic syntax is neither Latinistic nor Slavic. Is there then no other method? Wuth, finding that there were apparent inconsistencies in the use of OE verbs, has pointed out certain stylistic tendencies in the Germanic languages which affect the syntax of the verb. Similarly, Smith, in an article entitled 'Interpretative Syntax',[26] has noted the effect of the author's individuality, his emotions and imagination, on the use of verbs, and also that there is a continuity of syntax in every language, just as there is a continuity of language feeling.[27] Klaeber has definitely applied this 'stylistic' method to the study of the passive in a brief paper, entitled 'Eine Bemerkung zum altenglischen Passivum'.[28] He observes that two prose texts of the Alfredian period, *Bede* and *Orosius*, differ markedly in their use of *wæs* and *wearð*, *Bede* being decidedly Latinistic in style, and *Orosius* being representative of normal Old English. He also calls attention to the frequent use of *wearð* to express action in *Judith* and the *Battle of Maldon*, which is in keeping with their spirited style. In general, Klaeber points out the tendency of Old English poets to dwell on the typical rather than on the individual, and on state rather than on action—a tendency which calls for durative verbs, nominal expressions rather than verbal, and *wæs* rather than *wearð*. In the following study a similar method has been adopted.

Jespersen remarks, in his *Philosophy of Grammar*, that language is a 'living thing—the effort on the part of one individual to make himself understood by another', and primarily 'spoken', not written. In applying the stylistic method to a study of syntax, it is of primary importance to consider the individual construction in its context, and try to feel the author's point of view. We have tried to differentiate between good and better pieces of literature as giving grammatical

[26] *Publ. MLA* 15. 97 ff.

[27] As an illustration of the continuity of syntax, Smith cites the case of the OE *weorðan*, 'absent in the flesh, but present in the spirit', and lists some of the modern words which fill its place, as 'get, fall, go, run, grow, turn'.

[28] *ESt.* 57. 187–95. See also Klaeber, *Beowulf, Intr.* lix ff.

evidence, and to treat translations as such. In general more emphasis has been laid on spontaneous, conversational passages than on those of a more philosophical nature, and we have aimed always to take into account peculiarities due to authorship, to style, to type of literature, and to date of writing.

II. ALFREDIAN PROSE

§1. Orosius

The *Orosius* is an excellent example of idiomatic Old English of a narrative prose type. Its use of the passive is practically confined to the past tense, and it thus presents a less complicated problem than some of the other texts. It may be well to point out at once that the difference in the use of the two auxiliaries *weorðan* and *wesan* is based primarily on the difference in the meaning of the two words themselves. *Weorðan* is a word of change or becoming, while *wesan* expresses the idea of state or fact, of being or existing. Hence *weorðan* is found frequently in moments of action; *wesan*, in moments of rest. Sometimes the choice of the one or the other auxiliary is a matter of style;[1] the poet is apt to pass over the moments of action and dwell emotionally on the results of the action or on the feelings of the actors, while the story-teller or the historian is interested chiefly in progress and relates incident after incident; so poetry, in general, finds *wesan* more suited to its purpose, while narrative prose is full of instances of *weorðan*.

Distinction between *wearð* and *wæs*

It is interesting to note that the same distinction between *wearð* and *wæs* occurs[2] whether used absolutely, with a predicate noun or adjective,

[1] Of special interest in this connection is a remark by Sommer in his discussion of the Aorist and Imperfect in Greek (*Vergl. Syntax der Schulsprachen* 65, Anm. 2): 'So gut im allgemeinen Aorist und Imperfektum ihrer Aktion nach geschieden bleiben, so fehlt es nicht an Fällen, wo sie sich im Gebrauch berühren. Für die Erzählung vergangener Vorgänge sind sie beide an sich geeignet, je nachdem diese als im Vollzug befindlich vorgeführt oder als abgeschlossen berichtet werden sollen; hier entscheidet vielfach Stil und Geschmack des Autors.' Sommer quotes a passage from *Thucydides* (3. 96. 3) where the imperfect is used to express the general action 'all came to their aid', while the aorist is later used for the individual action of a single people, coming from a single region to give help: ἐπειδή τε ὁ στρατὸς ἐσεβεβλήκει, πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες, ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι...Βομιῆς καὶ Καλλιῆς ἐβοήθησαν. This use of the imperfect and aorist may well be compared with that of *wesan* and *weorðan* in its effect.

[2] Since the problem in the present is in some ways different from that in the past, the catch-words *wæs* and *wearð* will be used where the discussion relates only to past tenses, reserving the infinitive forms for the more complicated problem of the present. In a general discussion the terms *wesan* (*beon*) and *weorðan* will apply to both past and present.

with a prepositional phrase, or with a past participle. *Wear*ð introduces a new element or change of state; *wæs* stresses the existing state or predicates a fact or result. Examples follow:

A. Absolute use.

160. 22–30 On þæm dagum gewearð þætte on anre dune neah Romebyrig tohlad seo eorþe, 7 wæs byrnende fyr up of þære eorþan, þæt on ælce healfe þæs fyres seo eorþe wæs fif æcra bræde to axan geburnen... þa miδ þæm þe hi hie getrymed hæfdon, 7 togædere woldon, þa wearð eorþbeofung, þæt ægδer þara folca wende... þæt hie sceoldon on þa eorþan besincan. Note the result of the action in *tohlad* as expressed in *wæs byrnende fyr* and *wæs geburnen.* There existed a state of fire, which in turn left its resulting state of ashes. Compare the use of *wear*ð in *wear*ð *eorþbeofung*, where the Romans have made their attack and the two armies are ranged opposite each other as the sudden earthquake occurs. Similarly, 256. 6; 260. 16; 258. 23. 32. 25 mid Egyptum wearð syfan gear se ungemetlica eorδwela, 7 hi æfter δæm wæron on þan mæstan hungre oδre syfan gear.[3]

The stylistic difference between *wæs* and *wear*ð is well brought out in lines 216.5–25. Note especially: wearð reafere... his weorod weox... 7 Romanum wearð micel ege from him 'he *became* a robber... his following grew... and the Romans *became* very much afraid of him'; and compare with the statement of result in line 24: Siþþan wæs eallum þam oþrum swa micel ege from him þæt hi hiene leng gretan ne dorstan 'afterwards all the others *were* so afraid of him that for a long time they did not dare speak to him'.

B. With predicate noun or adjective.

118. 13 þæt hie gefriend wurden, þeh hie ær longe gefiend wæren. 266. 12 He wearð Romanum swa leof, 7 swa weorð þæt... Similarly, 158.2; 260. 22; 258. 21; 290. 14; etc.

C. With prepositional phrase.

158. 27 Pirruses here wearð for þæm swiþost on fleame. 90. 10 oþ þæt Darius... Lacedemonium on fultume wearð. 32. 14 þonne hig man on hand nymδ, þonne weorδaδ hig to acxan. 56. 8 hie to δon swiδe forslagene wurdon on ægþere hand, þæt hiera feawe to lafe wurdon. This last phrase *tō lāfe weor*δ*an* will be discussed in detail in

[3] It is unusual and inconsistent to find a phrase expressing duration of time used with *wear*ð. It seems to be the author's crude way of marking the beginning of the period of plenty: 'There occurred a seven-year period of plenty'.

connection with Ælfric's *Heptateuch* (p. 46), but should be observed here. *Orosius* always has *wearð* with *tō lāfe* in this phrase of battle. It can not mean 'were left on the field', but is equivalent rather to 'got away with their lives', 'escaped'. This is logical if we consider the context. It is always of the living that *tō lāfe weorðan* is used, of those who have 'achieved survival',[4] although it is conceivable that *tō lāfe wesan* might have been used in referring to the dead or wounded. Compare 88. 6 eal... þæt þær læfed wæs 'all the remainder', and 20. 28 feoh, þæt þær to lafe bið æfter þæm gedrynce, where a real remainder is meant. Other instances of *tō lāfe weorðan* are 70. 18; 92. 21; 206. 21; 222. 9; 268. 9; 86. 27 (*beon*). The same idea of action is to be found in *Brunanburh* 36 he his feorh generede 'he got saved'.

D. With a past participle.

This is the periphrastic passive with the auxiliaries *wesan* or *weorðan*. We may again call attention to the fact that the difference in the use of the two auxiliaries is primarily the same as the difference in the use of *wesan* and *weorðan* in other constructions, as quoted above.

Approximately four fifths of the instances of *wearð* as auxiliary of the passive are in main clauses, while more than two thirds of those of *wæs* in this construction are in subordinate clauses.[5] This distribution is probably due largely to the fact that *wearð* is suited to direct narration, while *wæs* is natural in relative and causal-temporal clauses, which are usually a statement of fact or of completed action. From the standpoint of time, *wearð* is close to the preterite; *wæs* approaches a pluperfect.

In listing the verbs with which *wearð* is used,[6] one is impressed with the large number of compounds, some of them, causatives. There are many with the meaning 'to kill': *ācwellan, forslēan, ofslēan, ofsmorian,*

[4] We might compare the modern phrase 'get by' in: 'Two were caught, but the rest got by'; or 'get through' in: 'Mary flunked, but I got through'. We might be tempted to connect the small boy's 'Did you ever get left?'

[5] *Wearð* 133 times in main clauses, 26 in subordinate; *wæs* 55 times in main, 119 in subordinate. Stereotyped phrases, such as *æfterþæm þe.... getimbred wæs*, have been counted only in a few instances, so that the use of *wæs* in subordinate clauses is really much greater than 2/3.

[6] Theoretically, any transitive verb may be used with *wesan* to form the passive, and, in a single text, it is usual to find examples of the use of a past participle with both auxiliaries. There are, however, a few so-called imperfective verbs, which, owing to their meaning, cannot be made to express change of state, and so these are not used with *weorðan* in the Alfredian period. Later, however, either by change of meaning and partial loss of the idea of perfectivation, or by analogy, these verbs are used also with *weorðan*.

offiellan, ofscēotan, ofweorpan, þurhscēotan; others carrying the idea 'put to flight', 'vanquish', 'make captive': *flīeman, ādrǣfan, bedrīfan, gefōn, oferwinnan, ymbfaran, befōn, beþridian*; others as: *belūcan, betȳnan, andōn, onbærnan, forbærnan.*

I. In main clauses.

Perhaps there is no passage which illustrates more clearly the distinction between *wæs* and *wear*ð than that about the temple of Janus. The general statement of fact or custom precedes, and the specific case of action follows: 106. 18–21 þonne hie frið hæfdon, þonne wæron ealle þa dura betyneda... Ac þa þa Octauianus se casere to rice feng, þa wurdon Ianas dura betyneda, 7 wearð sibb 7 friþ ofer ealne middangeard. Similarly, 106.7.

In relating the events of battle, a summary statement takes *wæs* and is often introduced by *on þæm gefeohte, on þæm dæge.* For example: 206. 14 þa on ðæm gefeohte... wæs Romana fela mid flanum ofscotod, 7 mid stanum oftorfod. 150. 22 on þæm gefeohte wæs Antigones ofslagen 7 his sunu of þæm rice adræfed.[7] In 192. 26 the important, specific statement about the vanquishing of a general is followed by the less important summary one about the army: se consul for eft... 7 gefliemed wearð 7 his heres wæs micel wæl geslagen. Similarly, 158. 10; 194. 33; 178. 30.

Compare with the above the use of *wear*ð in the following: 30.12 he wæs feohtende wið Sciððie... 7 þær wearð ofscoten mid anre flane. 290. 32 On þæm feorþan geare his rices he gefeaht wiþ Gotan, 7 gefliemed wearð 7 bedrifen on anne tun, 7 þær wearð on anum huse forbærned.[8] þær wæs swiþe ryht dom geendad. There is rapidity of action in the first sentence, while the second is a cold statement of fact. Similar in its effectiveness is 152. 21 þa wæs seo sibb 7 seo mildheortnes geendad![9] Good examples of *wear*ð are found also in 288. 1; 158. 32.

The birth of Christ is characteristically narrated with *wear*ð: 250. 23 þa wearð geboren se þe þa sibbe brohte. Similarly, 220. 14. In 104. 21 On þæm dagum wæs Alexander geboren on Crecum swa swa an micel yst come..., we might have expected *wear*ð, but the author is putting the birth of Alexander in its proper chronological place, along with the

[7] Compare with this the specific narrative statement in 150. 3: *þær wear*ð *Antigones gefliemed*, which is a description of the event summarized in 22.

[8] Similarly: 32.3 (in the story of Sodom) *hit wear*ð *fram heofonlicum fyre forbærned.*

[9] Cf. 54. 12, where the same phrase is used with *wear*ð and felt to be within the main action: *Đær wear*ð *Mæðe onwald geendod.*

great storm, while with the birth of Christ he associates action, the 'bringing of peace', typically a change of state.

The building of Rome, too, stands out as an event: 64. 21 wearð Romeburg getimbred from twam gebroðrum. Cf. 74. 12 Seo burg wæs getimbred an fildum lande... 7 heo wæs swiþe fæger an to locianne. This is the statement of a fact. Similarly, 116. 10.

The story of the death of Alexander illustrates the use of *wear*ð in rapid narration and the way that it is coupled with active verb forms; it also shows the use of *wæs* in continued action (*wæran ehtende*):

134. 10–23 Æfter þæm he gefor to anum fæstenne... þa wundrade Alexander hwy hit swa æmenne wære; 7 hrædlice þone weall self oferclom, 7 he ðær wearð from þæm burgwarum in abroden. 7 hie his siþþan wæran swa swiðe ehtende swa hit is ungeliefedlic to secganne... Ac þa him þæt folc swiðost an þrang, þa gestop he to anes wealles byge, 7 hiene ðær awerede. 7 swa eall þæt folc wearð mid him anum agæled þæt hie þæs wealles nane gieman ne dydon, oð Alexandres þegnas... þær in coman. Ðær wearð Alexander þurhscoten mid anre flan.[10]

Also, 108. 24–110. 3 þa gewearð hit, þeh hit me scondlic sie, cwæð Orosius, þætte sume Romana wif on swelcum scinlace wurdon, 7 on swelcum wodan dreame, þæt hie woldon ælcne mon, ge wif ge wæpned, þara þe hie mehton, mid atre acwellan... 7 þæt longe donde wæron ær þæt folc wiste hwonan þæt yfel come... ær þon hit þurh ænne þeowne mon geypped wearð. þa wæron ealle þa wif beforan Romana witan gelaðede; þara wæs III hund 7 hund eahtatig. þær wæron geniedde þæt hie þæt ilce þigedan þæt hie ær oþrum sealdon, þæt hie þærryhte deade wæron beforan eallum þæm monnum. Especially telling is the way in which the narrative arrives at its climax, after the durative idea in *longe donde wæron*, in the *ær þon... geypped wear*ð and then drops to the equally effective anti-climax in the last two sentences. There is no description of the death of these women, only the baldly suggestive, but highly dramatic, statement of fact, ending with the phrase *þæt hie þærryhte deade wæron*. The stylistic choice of *wear*ð and *wæs* certainly helps to produce this effect.

The two verbs with which *wear*ð is most frequently used are *ofslēan* and *flīeman* (*āflīeman*). Both verbs are used frequently with *wæs* in

[10] The use of *þā*, *þær*, and *þonne* with *weorðan* and *wesan* would make an interesting study in itself. In *Orosius*, both *þā* and *þær* are used with *weorðan*, and with *wesan*. In later Old English, especially in Ælfric's time, there seems to be a tendency to associate *þā* with *weorðan* in a new turn of action, and *þær* with *wesan* to indicate state. In poetry *þā* is frequently found to open a new fit.

main, as well as subordinate, clauses. In many cases the statement with *wæs* is clearly general and summary, while that with *wear*ð is specific and individual. In other cases there is no such definite distinction; perhaps a desire for variation has prompted the choice. A few tendencies may be pointed out. A statement regarding the 'killing' or 'putting to flight' of the enemy seems to be felt as less specific; similarly, the loss of soldiers, goods, or horses is of merely general import as compared with the death of a leader. Of special significance is the preference for *wear*ð in 3 instances in the later (C) text (196. 2; 196. 10; 198. 28). A distinction may be seen in the following: 204. 18 þær wæs Macedonie eahta M ofslagen, 7 VI M gefangen. Æfter þæm Sempronius se consul wearð ofslagen on Ispania. 176. 10 him comon ongean Punice mid swa fela scipa, 7 þær gefliemde wæron. 44. 24 On þære ilcan tide wurdon twegen æþelingas afliemde of Sciþþian... 7 hie ðær æfter hrædlice tide from þæm londleodum þurh seara ofslægene wurdon. 178. 4 æfter þæm fleame Hasterbal wearð ofslagen from his agnum folce.[11] 92. 12 consul mid gefeohte com 7 eac raðe gefliemed wearð eft into Romebyrig. In 176. 3, *wear*ð is used in a summary statement: þær wearð Romana XXX M ofslagen 7 Regulus gefangen.

II. In subordinate clauses.

In general the use in subordinate clauses does not differ from that in main clauses. *Wear*ð is found in clauses of purpose and after *oððæt, ār þan*, or wherever the subordinate clause is felt to be almost a principal one. There are a number of good passages illustrating its use:[12] 62. 15 From þæm geare þe heo getimbred wearð, wæs hire onwald M wintra 7 C 7 LX 7 folnæh feower, ær hio hiere anwaldes benumen wurde.[13] 264. 13 þæt he na siþþan geboren ne wurde. 82. 30 þylæs ænegu ungeþwærnes on his rice ahafen wurde. 284. 16 wunnon him beweonum oþ Constantinus wearð ofslagen. 230. 13 forþon þe hie wurdon on ælce healfe utan befangen. Similarly, 42. 5; 80. 21; 90. 18. In 170. 14, perhaps the clause is felt almost as a principal one: ac betwux Agothocle 7 his folce wearð ungerædnes, þæt he self ofslagen wearð. In 60. 19

[11] The agent expressed by *from* with the dative, as above, occurs 7 times with *ofslagen wear*ð. Besides the above, in 40. 13; 110. 24; 218. 14; 270. 18; 276. 9. This has all the earmarks of a fully developed passive. The idea of agency is expressed by *from* 21 times in *Orosius*, of which 5 instances are with *wæs*, all approaching a pluperfect (78. 7; 116. 10; 164. 9; 196. 2; 288. 13). It is used once with *eam oferwunnen* (156. 28).

[12] *Weorðan* occurs 27 times in subordinate clauses.

[13] Compare 208. 22 *Æfter þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wæs DC...*

wearð seems normal in a relative clause, as the action follows that of the main clause: Procos ongan ricsian in Italia þæm londe, þær eft Romeburg getimbred wearð. The use in a result clause in 86. 25 is unusual: swa þæt hie healfe belifene wurdon. Since a 'living remnant' is referred to, perhaps the construction is parallel to *tō lāfe weorðan* (pp. 16–17). Examples of *wæs* in subordinate clauses are so frequent that it is not necessary to give any.

Weorðan with simple verbs

Simple verbs are found frequently in the active voice and especially with *man*. The few instances in the passive with *wearð* are of interest, since the number increases in the works of Ælfric. There is no clear case of *wearð* with a durative verb.

110. 23 mid him gelæred wearð on þrim geare þa he ðær wæs. It is quite probable that this is not the simple verb *læran* 'teach', but *gelǣran* 'perfect by teaching, bring up, educate'. Philip, as a child, was sent by his brother as a hostage to Thebes, to the court of Paminunde, *þæm gelæredestan philosophe*, where he remained for three years, when, at the death of his brother, he was made king. 'In these three years, he became educated for the kingship', i.e. attained something that made him *gelæred* like Paminunde.[14] Streitberg would perhaps class this as 'durative-perfective', the stress being on the attainment but with the period of teaching in mind.

168. 3 þær siþþan tintregad wearð. *Tintrian* usually has the durative meaning 'torture', but the context and the Latin *necatus est* make it possible that the verb here carries the sense 'torture to death'. See further discussion of this passage below (p. 22).

There is one instance of *wearð* with *bringan* without the perfective *ge-* prefix: 208. 18 raþe æfter þæm gefangen wearð, 7 to Rome broht, 7 þær ofslagen.[15] In all other cases with simple verbs, the prefix *ge-* is found; some may be *ge-* compounds: 138. 23 Ac se gefea wearð swiðe raðe... to gedrefednesse gecierred. 142. 5 Swa oft swa Galli wið Romanum wunnan, swa wurdon Romane gecnysede (iterative 'in every instance'). 92. 19 *gedon wearð;* 32. 7 *gedynged wearð;* 136. 1 *wurdon gehæled;* 86. 22 *wearð gesewen;* 62. 25 *getacnod wurde;* 186. 24

[14] We may, of course, construe *gelæred* as an adjective.

[15] Compare similar passage with *wæs*: 200. 26 *Sifax wearð gefangen.... 7 siþþan wæs to Rome on racentan sended.* This is a secondary action equivalent to *Romam perducendum.*

gewundod wearð; 256. 7 *gewrecen ne wurde;* besides, *cræftigan* 60. 22; *sweotolian* 86. 23; *sēman* 70. 6; and *stillan* 106. 5.

Substitutes for the passive construction[16]

A. *Man* with the active.

In the last 50 pages of text, this construction occurs 76 times, 17 of which are following a verb of command. It is to be noted that 23 out of the 42 different verbs so used are uncompounded, while, as noted above, those used with *weorðan* and *wesan* are mostly compounds. Especially frequent are *bringan* and *dōn* in this construction with *man*. In the same pages, the passive with *wearð* and *wæs* occurs 107 times with 48 different verbs. The active with *man* occurs:

I. After verbs of commanding, requesting, desiring, thinking, perceiving, etc.: 240. 1 bæd þæt him mon brohte þone triumphan ongean 'decerni...poposcit'. 246. 28 (Cleopatra) nolde þæt hie mon drife beforan þæm triumphan. 244. 11 wende þæt hine mon gefon sceolde. 52. 6 anfunde, þæt him mon geswicen hæfde.

II. After adjectives: 244. 13 him wæs leofre þæt hiene mon ofsloge þonne hiene mon gebunde. Compare another way of avoiding the passive, which is idiomatic: 174. 26 him leofre wære þæt hie... deaðe fornome þonne...

III. In other subordinate clauses: 246. 20 þa him mon sæde þæt... 240. 28 for þon þe him mon feaht on on twa healfe, on oþre Pompeus, on oþre se ladteow 'because he was attacked on both sides, on one by...'. To modern readers, this seems more awkward than the passive, but it is clearly idiomatic.

IV. In main clauses: 234. 20 æfter þæm hiene mon het casere (cumque ab exercitu Imperator adpellatus esset). 230. 29 hiene mon dyde siþþan in carcern 7 his twegen sunu oþ hie þær ealle acwælon (qui cum filiis in carcere strangulatus est). 168. 3–6 7 þær siþþan tintregad wearð: ærest hiene mon swong, þa sticode him mon þa eagan ut, 7 siþþan him mon slog þa handa of, þa þæt heafod. 7 eall his cynn mon ofslog, þy læs hit monn uferan dogore wræcce. Note the Latin: 'captus est: ac primo virgis caesus, deinde effossis oculis et manibus cruribusque fractis, necatus est'. The construction may have been suggested by the Latin, as the idiomatic '*mon* clauses' render well the ablatives absolute, while *tintregad wearð* parallels the Latin *captus est* as well as renders *necatus est.*

[16] See Introduction, §1.

B. Use of the active infinitive.

There is frequent use of the active infinitive, especially after verbs of commanding, in a construction which is distinctly Germanic and which is to be compared with the construction with *man;* 224. 15 hiene het siþþan to Rome bringan, 7 on carcern bescufan. 242. 17 he him het þæt heafod of aceorfan, 7 hit siþþan het Iuliuse onsendan. 218. 31 þa heton hiene Romane gebindan 7 gebringean beforan... 250. 13 þone consul he het ofslean. 138. 25 þa hie gesawan þa deadan men swa þiclice to eorþan beran.

§2. Cura Pastoralis

On turning to *Cura Pastoralis*, our problem shifts to the present tense, and the distinction of primary importance is that between *weorðan* and *beon.* It will be remembered that this is the text which Jost chose for his intensive study of *beon* and *wesan.*[17] He did not, however, investigate the difference between *beon* and *weorðan,* nor that between *wesan* and *weorðan.*[18] In the scheme of abstract and concrete sentences, where does *weorðan* enter in?

A. Distinction between *beon* and *weorðan.*

In the case of *beon* and *weorðan,* it might seem at first thought that the distinction was one of abstract and concrete, as in the case of *beon* and *wesan,* but a few examples will show that it is not. Remembering that Jost's interpretation of 'abstract' calls for an abstract subject, it is apparent that *weorðan* is used in an abstract sentence in 35. 4 (see below), one of the sentences which Jost gives as an example of the abstract use of *beon* in the present; also, in 299. 12, which is listed as a future abstract sentence. In 245. 22 we find *weorðan* used in the hypothetical *þonne-þonne* clause, a favorite type of abstract sentence. Many other examples might be given, but these have been chosen because they so clearly satisfy Jost's definition of abstract sentences. The terms abstract and concrete need not, then, be further discussed in connection with the problem of *beon* and *weorðan.*

What is the distinction between *beon* and *weorðan* in the sentences referred to above? 35. 4 On ðæm gesundfulnessum ðæt mod wierð upahafen; & on ðæm earfeðum, ðeah hit ær upahafen wære, hit bið

[17] See Introduction, §3.

[18] There is no confusion between *wesan* and *weorðan. Wesan* with the past participle usually has a present perfect significance; with durative verbs, it forms a progressive present. *Weorðan* is used in a 'concrete' sentence, whether denoting present or future, and indicates a momentary change of state.

geeaðmedd is a continuation of the argument in lines 2–4: Forðam for ðære orsorgnesse monn oft aðint on ofermettum, & ða earfeðu ðurh sar & ðurh sorge hiene geclænsiað & geeaðmedað. Note *monn aðint* 'he swells up with pride' as compared with the state expressed in the next clause 'hardships cleanse and humble him'. Thus we may render line 4: 'In prosperity the mind gets puffed up (*wier*ð indicating a change of state); in hardship, though it were puffed up before (state), it is humbled (state)'. Compare the second passage: 299. 12–15 Ælc ðara ðe bið geeaðmed, he bið upahæfen... Ælc ðara ðe hine selfne upahefeð, he wierð gehined.[19] Note the coupling of *bi*ð *upahæfen* with the preceding clause of state, while *wier*ð *gehined* characteristically follows a verb of action, *selfne upahefe*ð. We may interpret: 'He who is humble(d), is, by his very humility, in an exalted state; he who exalts himself, gets humiliated'; or with a similar differentiation *bi*ð and *wier*ð may be made future. This passage is explained at length by Alfred. 301. 14–18 supports the above interpretation: ðæm eaðmodum is to cyðanne ðætte ðonne hie hie [selfe] suiðusð eaðmedað, ðætte hie ðonne astigað to Godes anlicnesse. Secgað eac ðæm upahæfenum ðætte, ðonne ðonne hie hie selfe upahebbað ðæt hie ðonne afeallað on ða biesene ðæs aworpnan engles. The parallelism of *bi*ð *upahæfen* and *astiga*ð *to Godes anlicnesse* suggests a continued state of exaltation, which is coincident with the state of humility; *wier*ð *gehined* is compared to the fall of the angels, clearly a change of state. Compare 463. 21 For ðæm wlite ðinra cræfta ðu wurde upahæfen, & ðonan ðu wyrst geniððrad, where change of state is emphasized in both clauses. Also note the use of *beon* in 465. 35 Ne beo ðu to upahæfen on ðinum mode. In 465. 12 Forðæm ælc mod swa hit bið upahæfen swa bið hit forlæten from Gode, & sona swa hit bið forlæten from Gode, swa bið hit gedrefed mid diofles ege, one might have expected *weor*ðan, at least in the last clause, although the idea of state is not impossible. In 391. 36, the action is stressed in the first clause, and preference given to *weor*ðan: ðætte oft ryhtwise menn mid ðys hwilendlican anwealde weorðað upahæfene, oð hie ðurh ðone anwald weorðað mid synnum gefangne. In the last two examples, it seems probable that the presence of *bi*ð or *weor*ðað in another clause has been sufficient to point the emphasis.

In the third passage referred to above: 245. 22–247. 2 Ðonne feallað ða truman ceastra, ðonne ða mod ðe Dryhtne ungeferu sint weorðað gesciende. Ðonne feallað ða hean hwammas, ðonne ða heortan ðe

[19] Note the use of *gehined* with *weor*ðan. *Geeaðmed* is not used with *weor*ðan in *Cur. Past.*, and seems always to mean 'state of humility'.

he ahebbaþ... weorþaþ ofdune aworpne, it should be noted that the comparison is between verbs, the action being stressed, and that the verb *feallaþ* is in the active. Usually in the *þonne-þonne* construction *beon* is found in both clauses, as in 71. 5; 117. 9, the comparison being one of state, not action.

In many passages, the choice of *beon* or *weorþan* seems to be a matter of emphasis, just as was that of *wæs* or *wearþ* in doubtful passages of *Orosius*. Where emphasis is on the specific action, *weorþan* is used; but where the statement is felt to be one of general application, *beon* is preferred.

B. The function of *weorþan* in the present.

The chief function of *weorþan* in the present is the same as that in the past—the expressing of a momentary change of state. For example: 439. 12 Ac þonne hi wenaþ þæt hi of hira ægnum mægene hi hæbben gehealden wiþ þa lytlan scylda, þonne weorþaþ hi swiþe forlætene from Gode, oþþæt hi afeallaþ on maran scylda. 277. 6–10 þæt wæter, þonne hit biþ gepynd, hit miclaþ & uppaþ & fundaþ wiþ þæs þe hit ær from com, þonne hit flowan ne mot þider hit wolde. Ac gif sio pynding wierþ onpennad, oþþe sio wering wirþ tobrocen, þonne toflewþ hit eall, & ne wierþ to nanre nytte. Note how *weorþan* in the above is associated with action and active verbs. 131. 25–133. 3 ufone sceal þæt heafod giman þæt þa fet ne asliden on þæm færelte, forþæm, gif þa fet weorþaþ ascrencte, eal se lichoma wierþ gebiged, & þæt heafod gecymþ on þære eorþan. Note the active verbs *asliden* and *gecymþ* coupled with *weorþan*. 341. 9–12 forþæm þe na se þorn þære gitsunga ne wyrþ forsearod on þæm helme, gif se wyrttruma ne biþ færcorfen oþþe forbærned æt þæm stemne. Swa wyrþ eac gestiered þæm gitsere þæs reaflaces... Here *biþ færcorfen* represents the state which the tree must be in, i.e. 'if the root hasn't been cut or burned', before the change in *wyrþ forsearod* can take place. Compare 367. 25 gif se wyrttruma þære upahafenisse ærest wyrþ forcorfen, þonne biþ hit sona swutol þæt þa twigu forseariaþ, where the emphasis is on the cutting of the root, *wyrþ forcorfen*, and the withering is felt to follow as a result. 205. 22 þæm scamleasan ne wyrþ no gestiered butan ... miclum þrean; þa scamfæstan beoþ oft mid gemetlicre lare gebetrode. Here, as frequently, *wyrþ* is used in the negative phrase of change; the durative idea in the last clause is brought out by the contrast between *lāre* 'teaching' and *þrēan* 'threatening'. 355. 22 Ac us is swiþe micel þearf, þeah þeos hwilendlice sibb for ure cease gedrefed weorþe on þæra

yfela monna mode, ðæt hie ðeah on ussum eallunga gehealden sie. There is a durative state in *gehealden sie* as opposed to the change in the preceding *gedrefed weorðe*. In 79. 23 the abstract *bið* has encroached on the function of *weorðan*: gif hio ne bið hrædlice aweg adrifen, he bið ofslagen mid ðæm sueorde, although it is clear that there is only a figurative 'driving' and 'slaying'.

C. *Weorðan* as auxiliary of the future passive.

Jost notes 4 examples of *beon* as auxiliary of the future passive and 1 of *wesan*.[20] Wülfing[21] concluded from 299. 14 (cf. above) that *beon* and *weorðan* were used interchangeably as future auxiliaries. If this were true, we must conclude that they were used interchangeably in the present also. Other instances where *weorðan* might be construed as future, might be mentioned: 21. 23; 23. 2; 32. 9; 63. 17; 339. 18; etc.; in fact, almost every use of *weorðan* in a clause of purpose with *ðȳlǣs* or *ðætte ne* is potentially future. Alfred uses *sceal* also to express future time: 253. 18; 395. 22. In general, the future significance is indicated by the use of adverbs or adverbial phrases of time.

D. *Weorðan* in purpose clauses.

The *Cura Pastoralis* lends itself especially to a study of purpose clauses. The use of *weorðan* in this construction is worthy of note.

1) With *ðȳlǣs*:

315. 10 ðylæs hie wenen..., & ðonne weorðen on hiera mode forðy to upahæfene. 23. 1 Ðætte hwilum ða leohtan scylda beoð beteran to forlætan,[22] ðylæs ða hefegran weorðen ðurhtogen. 191. 15 ðylæs hie eft wyrðen ðearlwislecor gedemede ðonne oðre menn. 325. 18 ðylæs he forleose ða lean ðæs ðe he ær sealde, & ðæt mod eac weorðe wirs forloren ðurh ða gnornunga. 447. 18 ðylæs he sie wealg for wlæcnesse, & forðæm weorðe utaspiwen. Many examples might be given.

There are several instances of *sie* in *ðȳlǣs* clauses, which may be compared with the above, since *weorðan* is the normal auxiliary in this

[20] 351. 14 *Gif ðonne ðæs monnes mod & his lufu bið behleapen eallunga on ða lænan sibbe, ðonne ne mæg he næfre becuman to ðære ðe him geseald is* (quae danda est). In spite of the Latin, it seems unlikely that this is a future. May it not mean 'If he chooses this transitory peace, he may never come into (may not appreciate) that eternal peace, which has been given to him'?

[21] *Syntax in den Werken Alfreds*, §407.

[22] Note the avoidance of the passive construction, and the use of the infinitive with *tō*, following *beon*. The phrases *is tō manienne* and *þæm is tō secganne* are frequently so used where one might expect the passive.

construction: a) With verbs probably durative: 127. 14 ðylæs he sie gehæft mid ðam uterran, oððe eft mid ðam inneran anum abisegad. Neither of these verbs is used with *weorðan* by Alfred. *Ābisgian* is surely durative; *gehæft* is rendered by the editor 'hampered', and is probably durative here. Cf. 85. 8; 307. 7. 321. 22 (ðylæs...) sio giofolness sie gemenged wið unrotnesse. 59. 16 ðylæs hit sie him eft witnod. b) With those expressing state: 351. 22–24 ðylæs... he sie innan asliten from ðæm geðoftscipe ðæs incundan Deman. This cannot mean 'be cut off from God', but rather that he will gradually forget God, and hence be 'in a state of isolation from him'. *Āslitan* is not used with *weorðan*, but see 289. 7 for instance of *toslītan* so used. 141.6 ðylæs, ðonne ðæt lif... bið gescilðed, ðæt innegeðonc sie gebunden (resulting inner state). The only other instances of *sie* with *ðȳlæs* are 159. 7; 147.15: both *ðylæs he sie ongieten*, a more or less formal use, followed by a *ðæt* clause with *sie*.

2) With *ðætte* (*ne*):

21. 23 ðætte his godan dæde ne weorðen to yfelum dædum. 137. 23 ðæt... hie ne wurdon self ofslægene mid... 191. 16 ðæt hie... ne weorðen gedemde. 267. 19 wolde ðæt hie wurden to golde & to seolfre, ac hie wurdon gehwierfde inne on ðam ofne to are...[23] 339. 19 Swa swa ðæt treow ðe ða wyrtruman beoð færcorfene forsearað swa hie magon ondrædan ðæt him weorðen ða wyrttruman færcorfene. Note how *beoð* is used for a perfect in the relative clause, just as *wæs* was used for the pluperfect in *Orosius*. Similarly, 167. 17; 169. 10; 179. 18; etc.

With *sie* the same construction expresses state or continued action. a) With duratives: 119. 20 ðætte ðæt mod... ne sie getogen to upahafenesse. 139. 10 ðearf ðætte sio giemen... sie wel gemetod 'be kept within bounds'. 129. 2 ðæt he sie absigod. b) Expressing state: 75. 5 niedðearf him is ðæt he sie gebunden to ðære ryhtwiesnesse mid... 443. 11 he walde... ðæt hi wæren gedrefde & geeaðmedde. Here the clause *ðæt... geeaðmedde* stresses the result desired, while purpose is expressed in that which follows: 12 & ðæs ðe nytweorðlicor gehierden ða halgan lare. Probably the meaning is: 'desired contrition and humility in their hearts that they might listen to the teaching with more advantage'.[24] In 213. 14 we might expect *weorðan*: eow healsige... ðæt ge no to hrædlice ne sien astyrede from gewitte; also in 151. 2: ðætte forðy to ungemetlice ne sie geliðod ðæm scyldgan.

[23] Compare the general statement of fact with *bið* in 269. 1.

[24] The editor translates: 'them to become contrite'; 'them to be contrite' would be more exact.

§3. Boethius[25]

While *Boethius* is philosophical rather than narrative, the author frequently makes his point by a short parable, simile, or metaphor, and these give excellent opportunity for the use of *weorðan*. The moral of the parable often follows in a general statement with *beon*. Thus: 93. 4 swa swa mon meolo seft; ðæt meolo ðurgcrypð ælc ðyrel, 7 þa syfeða weorðað asyndred. Swa eac ure gast bið swiðe wide farende urum unwillum... A typical simile is found in 122. 1–7 þæt dysi is anlicost þe sum cild sie full hal... geboren,... 7 ðonne lytle ær his midferhðe weorðe bæm eagum blind, 7 eac þæs modes eagan weorðan swa ablende þæt he nanwuht ne gemune...[26] A metaphor occurs in 111. 29: þonne hi weorðað gebolgen, þonne wyrð þæt mod beswungen mid þam welme þære hatheortnesse, oððæt hi weorþað geræpte mid þære unrotnesse, 7 swa gehæfte.

Compare the following passages: 63. 14 Hu wenst ðu nu? gif hwelc swiðe rice mon wyrð adrifen of his earde... 11. 9 Ac þeah þu nu fyr seo ðonne þu wære, ne eart þu þeah ealles of þam earde adrifen 'you haven't been entirely driven out of your native land'. 11. 18 Of ðære nan, buta he self wolde, ne wearð adrifen. Does this not illustrate the same process of development which occurred in Old High German and which finds its completion in the modern German passive with 'werden'?

The different application of *weorðan* and *beon* in regard to future time is shown in 128. 10–14: Ac ðæt ðætte we hatað Godes foreþonc... þæt bið þa hwile þe hit ðær mid him bið on his mode, ærðæm þe hit gefremed weorðe, þa hwile ðe hit geþoht bið; ac siððan hit fullfremed bið, þonne hatað we hit wyrd. Here *geþoht bið* predicates a state in an abstract present; *fullfremed bið*, a future state; while *gefremed weorðe* expresses a change from present to future. The relative tense idea, however, is felt in the particles *ærðæm, þa hwile, siððan* rather than in the verbs themselves.

In involved philosophical discussions, the interpretation depends somewhat on the choice of *weorðan* and *beon*, and the translator, though probably unconsciously, is quite exact in his distinctions. While the

[25] References are to the Sedgefield edition. Contracted forms have been expanded.

[26] Compare with these two instances of *weorðan* in individual action, the two following general statements in which *beon* is used with the same past participles as above: 130. 25 *Ac swa hi swiður bioð asyndrede from Gode, swa hi swiður bioð gedrefde 7 geswencte.* 121. 12 *Swa beoð ða synfullan mod ablend mid heora yflan willan þæt hi ne magon gesion þæt leoht.*

argument is laboriously worked out, the language is simple and idiomatic. There seems to be a real effort to use the vernacular. 92. 22 Hwæt þa stanas... bioð earfoðe to tedælenne; 7 eac uneaðe tosomne cumað, gif hi todælde weorðað. Gif þu þonne ænne stan toclifst ne wyrð he næfre gegadrod swa he ær wæs; ac þæt wæter 7 sio lyft bioð hwene hnescran gecynde; hi bioð swiðe eðe to tedælenne, ac hi bioð eft sona ætgædre. þæt fyr þonne ne mæg næfre weorðan todæled. A somewhat free translation into modern vernacular, shows how naturally the modern English 'get' renders the idea of *weorðan*: 'Stones are easy to split apart, but they don't go together so easily. If you break a stone, you will never get it together again the way it was before; but water and air are more delicate stuff; they are very easy to separate, but are together again before you know it. Fire can never be got apart.'

The passage 85. 12–18 is more difficult. Philosophy says he is giving an example, but it is really a bit of syllogistic logic which he applies to Boethius' individual case: Gif nu tu good wæren þe ne meahton ætsomne bion, 7 wæren þeah buto goode, hu ne wære hit þonne genog sweotol þæt hiora nære nauðer þæt oðer? forðy ne mæg þæt fulle god bion no todæled. Hu mæg hit bion ægþer full ge wana? Forðæm we cweðað þæt sio fulle gesælð 7 god þæt hi sien an good, 7 þæt sie þæt hehste; þa ne magon næfre weorðan todælede. First we have the fact: *ne mæg þæt fulle god bion no todæled*; then the assumption that happiness and goodness are one; and finally the conclusion, which is specifically applied to the state in which Boethius finds himself: *þa ne magon næfre weorðan todælede* 'they (happiness and goodness) can never become separated (and Boethius must be happy, since he is good). The use of *ne...nǣfre* with *weorðan* is frequent,[27] and significant.

There are a few doubtful passages which we may try to interpret by our study of the use of *beon* and *weorðan*: 49. 5–9 Swa hæfð se ælmihtiga God geheaðorade ealle his gesceafta mid his anwealde þæt heora ælc winð wið oðer, 7 þeah wræðeð oðer, þæt hie ne moton toslupan, ac bioð gehwerfde eft to þam ilcan ryne þe hie ær urnon, 7 swa weorðað eft geedniwade.[28] Why not *weorðan* in both clauses? Note the context,

[27] Compare 92. 22 (quoted above); also 96. 16: *þonne ne wurdon hi næfre geworhte ne eac gegaderod.* Note the interesting lack of inflection in *gegaderod.*

[28] There is a similar passage: 49. 29–33... *winð heora ælc on oðer... 7 weorðað him selfe to nauhte.* Compare also *Lay* xi, especially lines 18–20 and 36–9, which gives this same passage in poetry.

especially 48. 30 Ðæra unstillena gesceafta styring ne mæg no weorðan gestilled, ne eac onwend of þam ryne. This is a state of life in which the creatures move continuously, a state in which there is never stillness yet where motion never goes beyond certain limits. According to *Boethius*, animal life is a constant revolving in a certain course. *Bioð gehwerfde*[29] *eft to þam ilcan ryne* might be considered as action within bounds or as a durative state of action, rather than as expressing any change of state. *Swa weorðaþ eft geedniwade* is perhaps to be taken in the main *þæt* clause parallel with *winð* and *wræðeð*, thus consistently being associated with action and referring to a change of state. In 120. 14, the continued process of purification seems to be meant, not a single act: oðer dæl sceal beon geclænsod 7 amered on þæm heofonlican fyre. Similarly in 95. 15 þæt corn sceal bion aweht mid ascunga 7 mid lare, gif hit growan sceal, the idea is of continual arousing. We may translate 'be kept aroused, alive'.

§4. Bede

When we turn from these rather free translations of *Orosius*, *Gregory*, and *Boethius* to that of *Bede*, the almost total absence of *weorðan* in *Bede* is significant. Although there are hundreds of instances of *wæs* used as auxiliary of the passive, there are only six of *wearð* so used.[30] These instances are: 20. 8[31]; 118. 3; 150. 17; 326. 7; 378. 19; 422. 26.

Klaeber, in the article referred to above, attributes this peculiarity of the translation of *Bede* to the influence of the Latin original, which the Old English translator follows with almost slavish exactness: 'Es kann kein Zweifel darüber sein, dass die fast vollständig verwirklichte Alleinherrschaft von *wæs* dem Vorbild des lateinischen Passivums (mit *esse*) zu verdanken ist. In wie hohem Grade dieses wichtige Prosadenkmal sich lateinischer Art gebeugt hat, ist bekannt. Es sei nur kurz erinnert an die unheimlich gehäuften absoluten Partizipien..., die fremdartige Verwendung des Akkusativs mit Infinitiv (wie *þa cirican þe he... geleornade ealde Romanisce weorce geworhte beon* 90. 15), den Gebrauch des Partizipiums des Praesens mit dem Verbum substantivum zur Umschreibung lateinischer Deponentia (*wæs fylgende* 32. 8 = consecutus est) oder von Verbindungen mit dem Partizipium des Futurums

[29] For a similar use of *gehweorfan*, cf. *Wulfestan* 212. 14.

[30] Klaeber, 'Eine Bemerkung zum altengl. Passivum', *ESt.* 57. 187–95.

[31] This passage is found only in MSS. *Ca* and *B*. Klaeber believes that *wurdon* may have been introduced by later scribes, and points to 15 instances where *wearð* is used in MS *B*, but not in the prototype *T*.

(*þæt heo wæren unsibbe...onfonde* 102. 22 = quia... bellum... forent accepturi), unrichtige Rektion des Verbums (*hræglum brucan* 318. 15 = vestimentis uti); von der Beibehaltung lateinischer Wortfolge und den bemerkenswerten Latinismen in Wort- und Phrasenbildung zu schweigen. So ist nichts natürlicher, als dass das lateinische Passivum auf die Art der Umschreibung im Altenglischen abfärbte; decollatus est = *ða wæs... heafde beslegen* 40. 11; fracta est Roma = *wæs Romaburh abrocen* 42. 28; sint interemti = *wæs... ofslegen...* 6. 26; invitata = *wæs gelaðod* 8. 9; cum restitutus esset in regnum (natürlich:) = *mid þy þe he eft... on his rice geseted wæs* 168. 26; und so auch: ut... ablueretur = *þæt he... aðwegen wære* 404. 20; discerpuntur = *toslitene ond fornumene wæron* 46. 24; usw.'[32]

Klaeber also compares passages from Ælfric's works which are free renderings of Bede's history, and notes that Ælfric uses *wearð* twenty times in one of these, while the Alfredian translation of the same passages from Bede shows not a single instance.[33]

§5. Alfredian Section of the Chronicle

The story of *Cynewulf and Cyneheard*, which is generally conceded to be pre-Alfredian, is the first real narrative section in the *Chronicle.* Cynewulf's death is recorded in the annal of 784: Her Cyneheard ofslog Cynewulf cyning, 7 he þær wearð ofslægen. The story itself is entered under the date 755 when Cynewulf is first mentioned. There is no instance of *wearð* with the passive in the narrative, and it is significant that the active is used for all cases of action, except in the pluperfect forms which are the result of the action. There is no instance of a passive form in a main clause or in an *oþ þæt* clause. Some of the constructions used in *oþ þæt* clauses are of special interest, as this is the place where we might expect *weorðan* if anywhere: 48t[34] hie alle on þone Cyning wærun feohtende oþ þæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon. 48h Ac hie simle feohtende wæran oþ hie alle lægon butan anum. 46 he þær wunade oþþæt hiene an swan ofstang. The first two examples express result or state in the *oþ(þæt)* clause, but the third expresses real action. In the same section we find: 48h þær se cyning ofslægen læg,

[32] *ESt.* 57. 193.

[33] *ESt.* 57. 194. Reference is to Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* xxvi.

[34] References are to the edition by Earle and Plummer. In the case of the longer entries, the page is given, the location of the passage being indicated by t(op), b(ottom), m(iddle), h(igh), l(ow). In shorter entries, reference is to the date.

and 48b his lic liþ (instead of *he wearð bebyrged*). Note the active verbs: *geāscode, berād, beēode, onfunden, ongeat, ēode, werede, ūtræsde* at the climax of the action, all in 7 lines. *Wæs* is generally used with a pluperfect force. The phrase *wæron feohtende,* used several times, is interesting.[35] The single instance of *wearð* with an adjective must be noted: 48t þa þider urnon swa hwelc swa þonne gearo wearþ. We might perhaps translate 'everyone who could get ready'.

In the annals of the 9th century there is a fairly frequent use of *weorðan.* In the descriptive passages about the wars of Alfred, the usage is effective. For example, A.D. 881, p. 76b þær wearð se here gehorsod æfter þam gefeohte, describing the way the Danes got their horses. In A.D. 885 there is a battle between Alfred and the Danes, and here the soldiers have to leave their horses: 78b hie wurdon þær behorsude. Similarly, 84t for westweard... 7 þær wurdon gescipode. Similar to passages in *Orosius* are: 87b se dæl þe þær aweg com wurdon on fleame generede[36]; and 89t þær wurdon gefliemde 7 sume feower ofslægene. One can not but note the difference between the short categorical annals which fill up the space between the years 872 and 877, or between 879 and 885, and such narrative passages as A.D. 871, 893, 894, etc. The vivid descriptions of the wars with the Danes have constructions and vocabulary very similar to those in *Orosius.* Cf. A.D. 871 (p. 70m) þær wæs micel wæl geslægen.

In the annals which are a mere catalogue of events, it is not always possible to assign any reason for the use of *wearð* or *wæs* except the desire for variety. But these are isolated passages, it must be remembered, and the narrative always furnishes the proper setting for *wearð.* As in *Orosius, weorðan* is frequently used with *ofslēan,* and confusion occurs often. Only a desire for variety could have suggested the use in A.D. 838: Her Herebryht... wæs ofslægen from hæþnum... 7 on Cantwarum wurdon monige men ofslægene from þam herige. There is no instance of *wearð* which might be interpreted as having a pluperfect force, and such confusion as there is, is largely in categorical statements. In the phrase *wæs micel wæl geslægen,* it seems normal to find *wæs* preferred, since this is usually a statement of fact, not action. In A.D. 833, we find *wearð* in this construction. It is possible that the fact that the Danes were victorious influenced this choice, and that the chronicler felt it as concrete action rather than result. We might interpret: 'a

[35] This progressive form (a durative idea) is still felt as English idiom, and has been extended to perfective verbs as in: 'he came just as we were sitting down'.

[36] Compare *on flēame generede* with *tō lāfe wearð* as used in *Orosius.*

great slaughter took place', instead of: 'there was a great slaughter'. The same expression occurs in *Oros.* 186. 26. Compare 72t þær wearð micel wælsliht; also 871 (72) þæs geares wurdon viii folcgefeoht gefeohten; and 78b þær wearð micel gefeoht.

§6. Anglo-Saxon Laws

In the *Kentish laws* of Æthelberht, the use of *weorðan* is striking, especially when compared with similar phrases in *Alfred's laws.* This is probably due to the concrete, individual idea back of the primitive laws.[37] The *Kentish laws* show a use of *weorðan*:

1) Without a predicate word: *Æth.* 33 Gif feaxfang geweorð. 34 Gif banes blice weorðeþ. 35 Gif banes bite weorð. An individual case seems to have been visualized, and the action is thought of as taking place.

2) With predicate noun, adjective or adverb: *Æth.* 41 Gif eare þirel weorðeþ. 42 Gif eare sceard weorðeþ. 65. 1 Gif he healt weorð. 68 Gif wælt wund weorðeþ.[38] 43 Gif eage of weorðeþ.

3) With past participle: *Æth.* 36 Gif sio uterre hion gebrocen worðeþ. 38 Gif eaxle gelæmed weorþe. 40 Gif eare of weorð aslagen. 52 Gif spræc awyrd weorþ... Gif widobane gebroced weorðeþ. 66 Gif rib forbrocen weorð. 62 Gif man gegemed weorðeþ.

Beon is not used in the *Kentish laws. Sie* is used at times in the *gif* clause, evidently for a minor circumstance, and this use of the indicative in the main condition, and the optative in a subordinate one, seems to be general. Thus *Æth.* 18, 19 Gif man mannan wepnum bebyreþ... Gif wegreaf sy gedon. 45–7 Gif nasu ðyrel weorð... Gif hit sio an hleore... Gif butu ðyrele sien.

The *laws of Hlothere and Eadric* have one good instance of *weorðan* in the subordinate *gif* clause in the optative: *Hl.* 13, 14 Gif man wæpn abregde þær mæn drincan... Gif þæt flet geblodgad wyrþe...

Turning to the *laws of Alfred,* we find a more abstract conception of the law, and correspondingly less frequent use of *weorðan.* The only instances of *weorðan* in *Alfred's laws* are given below: *Alf. El.* 25 Gif ðeof brece mannes hus nihtes & he weorðe þær ofslegen, ne sie he na mansleges scyldig. Gif he siððan æfter sunnan upgonge þis deð, he

[37] There is no absolute assurance that *weorðan* is the old form here. Liebermann (*Gesetze der Angelsachsen* 3. 1) concludes that when the *Kentish laws* were put into West-Saxon, they were partially modernized, but retained many archaic forms.

[38] Compare *Maldon* 113 *Wund wearð Wulfmær.*

bið...scyldig. Here *weorðe* is used in the important part of the law, the killing of a thief at night. *Alf. El.* 49. 7 Siððan ðæt þa gelamp, þæt monega ðeoda Cristes geleafan onfengon, þa wurdon monega seonoðas geond ealne middangeard gegaderode.[39] *Alf.* 32 Gif mon folcleasunge gewyrce, 7 hio on hine geresp weorðe 'and it is proved of him' is an excellent example of the use of *weorðan.*

The tendency in *Alfred's laws* is to state the main fact in a noun clause, and the subordinate circumstances in *gif* clauses with *bið* or *sie*: *Alf.* 44 Heafodwunde to bote, gif ða ban beoð butu ðyrel. 50. 1 Monnes cinban, gif hit bið toclofen. There is some variance in the use of *bið* and *sie* in the different manuscripts. *H* quite consistently has *bið*, but *E* and *B* use *sie* frequently.

In the *laws of Ine*, we find: *Ine* 28 orige weorðe; 43 weorðe yppe; 43. 1 wyrð eft undierne.

[39] This quotation and the preceding one are taken from the general introduction to Alfred's laws (*Alf. El.*).

III. LATE OLD ENGLISH PROSE

§1. Ælfric's Lives of Saints

Weorðan is more frequent in the works of Ælfric than in those of Alfred, and in a few instances the use is extended to verbs which would commonly be durative and to other constructions where we might expect *wesan*. The text of *Lives of Saints* lends itself especially well to the use of *weorðan* since it is narrative and deals largely with miracles. The distinction between *wæs* and *wearð* is clear. There are only 6 instances of *weorðan* in the present, while *beon* is frequent. In purely passive constructions, *weorðan* occurs 475 times with 165 different verbs. There is therefore an abundance of material and almost any page of text furnishes good examples.

A. Normal use of *wæs* and *wearð*.

I. In main clauses.

Weorðan occurs about 400 times. The perfective idea, especially if ingressive, is usually intensified by the adverbs *ðā*,[1] *sōna, fērlīce, þærrihte, æt nēhstan*, etc. We find such adverbs as *þær, gewunelīce, dæghwāmlīce, āfre* coupled with *wæs*, where customary or continued action is expressed, and *gefyrn, ær*, where a pluperfect sense is implied.

In Peter's vision of unclean beasts: 10. 94 þriwa him wæs þus geclypod to and þærrihte wearð þæt fæt upp to heofonum abroden, *wæs geclipod* is in a general statement, the narrative statement being in the preceding clause: 92 þa com him eft stemn to.

Good examples are found in 3. 530–660, the story of a sinful woman, who was miraculously saved by Basil: 530 Heo wearð swa þeah æt nehstan wundorlice onbryrd þurh godes mynegunge and ealle hyre

[1] *Ðā* is also used as an expletive with *wæs* and with active forms, but the frequency of its use with *wearð* is significant. *Ðær* introduces summary passages as: 20. 113 þær wæron gehælede þurh ða halgan femnan fela adlige menn. *Wurdon* occurs in such a summary clause introduced by *ðær* in: 21. 132 þær wurdon gehælede þurh þone halgan were feower wan-hale menn binnan ðrym dagum. Probably there is an extension of the use of *weorðan* here. *Wæron* would be more normal.

manlican dæda awrat on anre carte. She took the card to St. Basil, who after a night of prayer, gave it back to her: 551 and þa wæron þa synna ealle adilegode butan anre synna... and heo wearð þa æmod. St. Basil sent the woman into the desert, but she received no help and returned only to find him dead. The narrative continues: 650 arn... oððæt heo to þære byrig becom þær man bær basilium[2] and feoll ða to eorðan flitende wiþ þone halgan þæt he hi asende fram him sylfum to westene... and ne wearð gefrefrod.[3] She threw the card on the bier and one of the priests picked it up and found the sin blotted out: 659 To hwi swincst þu la wif, þeos carte is adilegod. Seo syn wearð þa adilegod þurh drihtnes mildsunge swa swa Basilius wolde. *Wæs* might have been used in the last sentence, but *wear*ð stresses the miracle, which supposedly took place as she threw the card on the bier.

35. 190 þa wurdon þa gyrda wundorlice gehnexode færlice... swilce hit fæðera wæron 'became suddenly softened as if feathers'. This is in the story of the martyrdom of Chrysanthus. Further tortures follow: 240 Æfter þysum wearð se halga wer Crisantus on cwearterne gebroht... þæt he... on mislicum witum gemartyrod wurde. Then the miraculous: 250 þæt anþræce cweartern... wearð onliht sona wundorlice þurh god. Note the use of *wundorlice* with *wear*ð and how particularly adapted *weorðan* is to express the miraculous.[4] Compare 2. 100 and wearð awend of wulfe to sceape[5]; 11. 199 þæt wæter wearð awend to wynsumum baðe.

Just as *weorðan* is used where the miracle consists in producing a change of state, so *wesan* is applicable where the miracle lies in the preventing of a change of state. Thus: 12. 235 Heo wearð þa ofslagen ac hire swura næs þurhslagen. The woman was innocent, hence the sword was miraculously held back. Similarly: 9. 102 ac heo næs astyrod ac stod swa swa munt. 7. 87 ne heo næs afyrht. 18. 117 ne him answaru ne com ne seo offrung næs forbærned.

The most interesting instance of this use of *wæs* occurs in the story of St. Mary of Egypt. The vividness of the whole scene and the action

[2] Note the use of *man* and the active form with the durative *beran*.

[3] Wrongly translated as pluperfect in the Skeat edition.

[4] But in line 244, *wear*ð is used in a purely descriptive statement, which expresses state: þæt cweartern wearð afylled mid fulum adelan. This is a clear slip on the part of the translator. Shall we say that he made a mistake, or attribute the instance to analogy? As this is unquestionably a preterite, we might take it as evidence that *wear*ð was beginning to be felt as the logical auxiliary of the preterite passive.

[5] Similarly, *Boethius* 116. 20 wurdon to ðam deor-cynne þe mon hat tigris.

surrounding her makes the forced passivity of Mary more marked. She wanted to enter the church of the Holy Rood, but was held back by a divine force: 23 B. 407–18 þa ongunnon hi butan ælcere lættinge ingangan. me witodlice þæt godcunda mægen þæs ganges bewerede and ic sona wæs ut aþrungen fram eallum þam folce oððe ic ænlipigu on þam cafertune to læfe oþstod... (a second attempt) þa wæs ic ana ut asceofen... Ac swilce me hwilc strang meniu ongean stode... Oððe ic eft standende on þæs temples cafertune wæs. The phrases *sona wæs ut aþrungen* and *þa wæs ic ana ut asceofen* as well as *to læfe oþstod* and *standende wæs* must be taken as emphasizing the forced state of passivity or the futile result of her struggling The use of *sōna* and *þā* would lead one to expect *weorðan*, but there is no change of state and the adverbs may, perhaps, stress the feeling of the crowd surging by, the same feeling which one has when standing by a moving train.[6]

Good examples of *wæs* in customary action are found: 23 B. 101, where the monastic rule regarding the Lenten fast is described: ðæt geat soðlice þæs mynstres næfre geopenod wæs ac symle hit wæs belocen. 11. 84 Æfre we wæron gefultumode on ælcum gefeohte swa oft swa we sungon... 10. 26 Se (lama) wæs dæghwamlice geboren to þam beorhtan gete.

II. In subordinate clauses.

As in Alfred's works, *weorðan* is used in clauses of purpose introduced by *þæt* and *þȳlǣs*, also in *oððæt* clauses except where the clause indicates a state resulting from the action in the main clause and not the change which terminates the action. *Wesan* is the rule in relative clauses and usually after *ǣrþan þe*. Isolated instances of *weorðan* in practically every type of subordinate clause are to be found, however, in Ælfric's works.

B. Extension of the use of *weorðan*.

It is surprising to find *weorðan* with the usually durative *lǣdan* both in *Lives of Saints* and in *Homilies*. It is so used 11 times in *Lives of Saints*. In 9 of these *lǣdan* seems to have the force of *bringan*, being used with *tō*: 2. 373 Hi wurdon þa gelædde to þære laðan anlicnesse. 18. 140 Hi

[6] There are many Latinisms in this homily. Skeat does not assign it to Ælfric, but includes it in the collection. The marked preference for *wæs* throughout the homily might be due partly to this Latinistic style. In all fairness, we should consider this explanation in the above passage also, although the use of *wæs* is strikingly effective. The examples given in the preceding paragraph with *ne* are certainly characteristic, and would in no wise be ruled out as Latinisms.

wurdon ðа gelæhte and gelædde to helian.[7] Similarly, 22. 128, 9; 25. 108; 31. 553; 31. 235; 34. 266; 36. 400; 9. 95. The durative idea is more probable in 9. 139. 40 wearð. . . gebunden, and beforan ðam mædene gelæd, but here again, we have *wearð gebunden* preceding, just as we had *gelæht and gelæd* above. In 23 B 455 ic wearð þa gelæd mid þære hætu þæs geleafan, the durative 'lead' seems clearly meant. Although pluperfect in sense, 21. 221 is interesting as being without doubt durative: se ðe lytle ær þanon wæs gelæd þurh þone oþerne. It is safe to assume that the use of *weorðan* has been extended to *lǣdan* by analogy in some at least of the instances cited above. There seems to be some confusion between *lǣdan* and *gelǣdan*.[8]

In the works of Alfred, *bysgian*[9] and *ābysgian* were not used with *weorðan*, but in Ælfric we find four instances of such use. 2. 338 þa wurdon gelome þa leofan mædenu Eugenia and Basilla and eac se biscop on sunderspræce swiðe gebysgode. The frequentative *gelome*[10] emphasizes the durative idea in *bysgian* and we should surely expect *wæron*. Probably the translator had the ingressive idea uppermost in mind 'they began to be employed in frequent conversations', since Basilla had just been baptized and had had no conversations with them before. In 4. 9 there is continued action again: He wearð ða gebysgod on his gebedum seofan niht. The use of *wearð* may be ingressive here also. This is not a monk, accustomed to continued praying, but a boy, who must choose between marriage and a monastic life and 'he turned to prayer', 'got busy at his prayers and continued seven nights'. There is another crisis in 5. 350 Hi wurdon ða gebysgode on heora gebedum

[7] The alliteration may have had some influence in the choice of *gelæd* rather than *gebroht*.

[8] A number of the above passages would probably be classed as 'Konstatierung' by Wuth (see *Intr.* p. 12). *Lædan* is the verb with which he illustrates (p. 12): 'Weick.... führt S. 55 ein Beispiel aus der Sachsenchronik an: *lǣde his fyrde tō Bryhtlande and beset þone castel. lǣdde* hält Weick für perfektiv, denn "man musste doch mit dem Führen zu Ende gekommen sein, um das Schloss belagern zu können." Das ist logisch ganz richtig, aber es ist in dem in Rede stehenden Satze nicht bezeichnet. Das Verbum *lǣdde* ist offenbar nur konstatierend gebraucht. Es schildert die Handlung des Führens nicht, ob diese von kontinuierlicher Dauer war oder einen Abschluss fand und hat infolgedessen auch kein die Aktionsart angedeutendes *ge-* bekommen.' It is significant that *wearð* rather than *wæs* is preferred, however.

[9] Good instances of purely durative use with *wæs* are: 30. 28; 31. 328.

[10] *Weorðan* is used with *gelōme* in 19. 145 *and þær wurdon gelome wundra gefremode.* The iterative idea is also found in 21. 229 *swa oft swa ænig wan-hal mann wurde gehæled.*

ealle dæges and nihtes. Martyrdom is expected and these few have chosen to stay rather than to flee, and 'turn to prayer', continuing 'day and night'. Compare 6. 298 He wearð þa gebysgod on his gebedum þearle on martines cyrcan... to ðriddan healfan geare. Maurus knew by prophecy that he would die soon, so 'he became fervent in prayer, continuing for a year and a half'. All of the above examples show an extension of the use of *weorðan*, and any explanation offered is merely to show how this extension might have come about.[11]

In summary statements also, the use of *weorðan* is creeping in. Note, for instance, 21. 132 þær wurdon gehælede æt... byrgene eahta untrume; similarly, 143, 149, 153, 191, 320. The purely descriptive statement with *wearð* in 35. 244 has been quoted above (note 4).

The use of *weorðan* in indirect discourse is interesting. In most instances probably the choice is determined by the auxiliary which would have been used in direct discourse. 21. 276 cwæð þæt he wurde wolice getucod 'said that he was unjustly punished'. Similarly 2. 232. In 30. 342 cwæð þæt heora fæder wære cempena ealdor-man and eac þæt heora moder æt ðam scype forlæten wearð, there is a half-way transition to the direct discourse, as shown by the use of the indicative.[12] Similarly 19 129 sædon... hu se wearð ablend þe hine beheafdode.

Weorðan is used with *swā þæt* to express purpose in 13. 104: swa þæt ure lichama alefed ne wurðe. In the following examples, not result, but resulting action or climax is indicated: 6. 318 swa þæt ða munecas micclum afyrhte wurdon awrehte ðurh his wodlican stemne. 16. 108 swa þæt he wearð acenned of... Similarly, 6. 94; 7. 422.

We might least expect to find *weorðan* in the relative clause, and its occurrence here surely indicates an extension of use since the time of Alfred. *Wæs* seems tending to become a pluperfect form and *wearð* seems to be taking over the pure preterite idea. A few instances of *weorðan* in relative clauses follow: 19. 88 (The execution was delayed for a long time by the crowds) þe wurdon onbryrde 'who got excited'. 19. 14 Albanus... seðe on þære ehtnysse eac wearð acweald. 12. 32 swa swa ealle treowa cuciað æfre on lenctenes timan þe ær þurh wyntres cyle wurdon adydde. The Skeat edition translates 'had been deadened',

[11] Compare with the above 21. 196: wunode þa on rome and ne wearð gehæled feower gear fullice. This is somewhat similar to the use of *weorðan* with *ne nǣfre* in *Boethius*. See p. 29.

[12] Compare *Cynewulf and Cyneheard*, Bright's *Anglo-Sax. Reader* 15. 21, where there is a striking change from indirect to direct discourse, as shown by the pronouns.

but this hardly seems possible in connection with a present tense in the main clause; perhaps it means 'that before (in the fall) got chilled by the winter's cold'. This combination of *ǣr* with *wurdon* is unexpected and suggests confusion. 21. 433 þe þær wurdon gehælede. Compare the modern phrase 'got cured'; there seems to be a tendency to associate *weorðan* with *gehǣled*. We should expect *wǣron* with a pluperfect force. 32. 76 þegnum þe on heora bedde wurdon mid bearnum and wifum færlice ofslægene. 36. 254 butan wifum and cildum þe ne wurdon getealde. There is no satisfactory explanation of this except analogy.[13] Similarly, 22. 97 þancigende gode and þam halgan were þurh þone þe hi wurdon onlihte. Skeat's translation has pluperfect and *wǣron* would be expected. As it stands, however, the clause has almost the force of a principal one, perhaps 'for by him they were brought to the light'.

C. Other auxiliaries of the passive.

It has been noted that *wæs* frequently carries a pluperfect force.[14] Other verbs are used as auxiliaries to intensify the idea of continued state or sudden change, e.g., *stōd* and *læg* on the one hand and *fēoll* and *ārās* on the other. See *Praef.* 47 stod gefyrn awriten; 12. 228 *stod ofwundrod*; 26. 166 *stod gefæstnod*; 21. 151 *læg afylled mid...*; 34. 294 *liðˇ ofslagen*; 21. 336 *aras hal gehæled...*; 21. 299 *feoll geswogen.*

§2. Ælfric's Homilies

In general the *Homilies* are similar to *Lives of Saints* in style, and the use of *wearð* and *wæs* is consistent with that of Ælfric already discussed. There is less narrative than in the *Lives of Saints*, but there is still frequent use of *weorðan*. The greater didactic tendency of the work makes the extension of the use of *weorðan* more remarkable. In most instances, however, this extension seems natural and the reason for it is usually clear.

[13] Cf. *Chronicle* A.D. 871 (Bright's *Reader* 17. 19): þe mon na ne rimde.

[14] It is often used with *ǣr* or *gefyrn*. The Skeat translation, possibly to bring out the archaic style, usually renders these passages by a preterite, as: 4. 211 'where men's bodies lay, that *were long ere this killed* in prison', which translates *wæran ær acwealde*. 'Had been killed long before' would be simpler and more accurate. On the other hand, *wurdon...* is translated by a pluperfect without any very good reason in 12. 32; 22. 97; 21. 433. The translation of 7. 336 *þa com gallicanus eac to gode gebogen* as 'became converted' is clearly wrong. It should be 'came home, likewise converted'.

A. Noteworthy, probably normal, use of *weorðan.*

186. 30[15] Mid þam ðe he tobræc ða hlafas, þa wæron hi gemenigfylde, and weoxan him on handum; forðon ðe ða fif bec wurdon gastlice asmeade. The author is comparing the expounding of the Pentateuch by Christ to the breaking of the five loaves. We might translate *wurdon gastlice asmeade* as: 'came to have a new significance spiritually'. The vividness of the comparison probably explains the choice of *wurdon.*

284. 23 Ne wearð se Fæder mid menniscnysse befangen, ac hwæðere he asende his Sunu. On the surface this would seem like a summary statement, but it must represent a concretion of thought: 'it did not happen with the Father thus', 'the Father did not become man himself, but instead sent his son'.

110. 9 (The astrologers used to advance in support of their theory) þæt niwe steorra asprang þaþa Drihten lichamlice acenned wearð. Probably the idea in *asprang* is responsible for the choice of *wear*ð here, 'a new star appeared in the heavens at the precise moment that Christ was born in the flesh'.

440. 5 þa apostoli þurh þone ylcan Gast ealle þing undergeaton, and on ealre soðfæstnysse gelærede wurdon. This is not the durative *lǣran,* but *gelǣran*;[16] not, as the Thorpe translation has, 'were instructed in all truth', but 'became skilled, learned', 'got to be experts'. Note the similar use of *geleornode* in line 3.

B. Analogical use of *weorðan.*

a) With expressions of duration of time.

126. 22 And se cniht wearð gehæled of ðære tide. 402. 33 hi wurdon ða utan ymbsette mid Romaniscum here swa lange þæt ðær fela ðusenda mid hungre wurdon acwealde. Both of the above are excellent examples of the way in which confusion crept in. There is a double idea present; the ingressive idea is the outstanding one and the expression of duration of time is added as an after-thought: 'he became healed and was a well man from that hour'; 'they were (suddenly) surrounded, and it was such a long siege...'[17]

b) With verbs usually classed as durative.

Of special interest is *(ge)lǣdan.* It is hard to tell whether we are

[15] References are to Vol. I unless otherwise indicated.

[16] Cf. discussion of *Orosius* 110. 23 (p. 21). Wuth (*Aktionsarten d. Verba bei: Cynewulf* 24 f.) notes that *lǣran* has no *ge-* in the past participle in Cynewulf: '*Lǣran* ist stets imperfektiv "lehren, raten".... *Gelǣran* hebt dagegen den Erfolg des Lehrens hervor: etwas durch Lehren oder Raten erreichen, überreden.'

[17] Compare *Oros.* 32.25; 110. 23.

dealing here with a case of analogy or with an extension of meaning. To the examples already quoted from *Lives of Saints* may be added: 428. 19 Laurentius him wearð to gelæd. Vol. 2. 142. 10 ærðan ðe heo of life gelæd wurde 'before she be taken from this life'. 2. 170. 2 and he wearð on ðære wodnysse gelæd to þam eadigan Benedicte. 2. 354. 26 We rædað... þæt oft and gelome[18] men wurdon of ðisum life gelædde, and eft to life arærde. The idea of 'leading' is more apparent in 2. 354. 30: swa Gregorius... awrat... þæt his sawul wearð gelædd of ðisum lif. *Wæs* (*wǣron*) *gelǣdd*(*e*) occurs in summary statements in 166. 8; 2. 78. 34; 2. 332. 9; in relative clauses: 2. 332. 10, 19; it seems to be durative in 2. 254. 20 Ðær wæron gelædde mid ðam Lifigendan Drihtne twegen scyldige sceaðan, for heora synnum to honne.[19] The occurrence of the simple *lǣdde* in 2. 78. 29 in the same sense as *gelǣdde* in 28 indicates some confusion between the two.[20]

Two intransitive duratives are *weaxan* and *þyncan*. 20. 21 þa wearð þa hrædlice micel mennisc geweaxan. 258. 10 syððan he man wearð geweaxen 'when he was grown up, reached the stage of manhood'. 6. 34 wearð me geðuht þæt ic nære unscyldig 'I formed the resolution'. 376. 12 swa þæt he wearð færlice geðuht cnapa 'so that he suddenly took on the appearance of a boy'.

C. Use in summary statements.

Examples are: 486. 4 þæt halige heafod wearð on Hierusalem bebyrged. 100. 2 forðam ðe on ðam dæge wurdon gearlice tide gesette. 58. 3 Iohannes... wearð on ðysum dæge to heofenan... genumen. 446. 16 Seo heofonlice cwen wearð to-dæg generod fram... worulde. 404. 17 Seo burh wearð syððan on oðre stowe getimbrod and mid ðam Sarasceniscum gesett.

D. Unusual use of *wesan*.

In a few instances, the optative *wǣre* is used in *þæt* clauses where one is surprised not to find *wurde*: 474. 3 axodon, for hwæs synnum se mann wurde blind acenned. þa cwæð se Hælend, þæt he nære for his agenum synnum, ne for his maga, blind geboren, ac forði þæt Godes wundor þurh hine geswutelod wære. This use of *nære geboren* is reason-

[18] Other instances of *weorðan* with *gelōme* are 36. 16; 220. 20. This use, though a natural one, is an extension of usage beyond that of Alfred.

[19] Note the passive significance of *tō hōnne* 'to be hanged'.

[20] Attention is called to a wrong interpretation of *geled* in 86. 24: *ðaða he wæs on ðissere beðunge geled, þa wearð se lichama eal toslopen*, which is rendered 'when he was led to this bathing, the body was all relaxed'. Probably it means 'when he was placed in the bath, his body became paralyzed'.

able if we consider the different viewpoints of the apostles and of Christ. The apostles were thinking of the old doctrine of the visiting of the sins of fathers upon children in the form of afflictions, and asked: 'for whose sin was this man made to be born thus blind?' Christ's answer stresses the result, or opportunity resulting from the man's blindness: 'It wasn't punishment for any man's sin, his own or that of a kinsman, but that God's miraculous power might be apparent through him'. *Wurde geswutelod* would have put undue stress on the idea of foreordination, which does not seem to be meant here.

82. 23 Ne com he to ðy þæt he wære on mærlicum cynesetle ahafen, ac þæt he wære mid hospe on rode hengene genæglod. If we interpret this passage rightly, the stress is on state not action; freely translated: 'He came not for the kingship, but for ignominious death'. Similarly: 88. 25 þæt seo witegung wære gefylled, þe cwæð... 'that the prophecy might prove true' or 'in fullfillment of the prophecy'.

166. 9 þæt he wære gecostnod fram deofle. *Costnian* is clearly durative here. Ælfric does use the verb with *wearð* once in *Lives of Saints* 33. 162, but that is probably so used by analogy.

514. 16 selre him wære þæt him wære getiged an ormæte cwyrnstan to his swuran, and he swa wurde on deoppre sæ besenced. *Swa* refers to the state in *wære getiged* and this may be felt to be subordinate to and preceding the action in *wurde besenced,* which expresses change of state.

§3. Ælfric's Heptateuch and Job

Ælfric's translation of the *Heptateuch and Job* deserves a special study because of its peculiar relation to the Latin original. Accuracy is the translator's chief aim, apparently, and the rendering is as literal as it could be without being slavish. The introduction, as an original treatise, is valuable. The whole is quite in accord with Ælfric's usual style.[21]

Simple *weorðan* translates a number of different Latin verbs.

1) It corresponds to *factum est,*[22] as it often does in the OE version of the *Gospels.* Here it is either in the form *wearð* or, even more commonly, *wæs geworden.*[23] For example: *Gen.* 13 7 Wearð... sacu

[21] On the question of Ælfric's authorship, cf. Karl Jost, 'Unechte Ælfrictexte', *Anglia* 51. 81–103; 177–219 (1927).

[22] This is not the only rendering of *factum est,* however. Compare *Gen.* 1. 3 'factum est lux' *leoht wearð geworht*; *Gen.* 1. 7 'factum est ita' *hit wæs þa swa gedon*; *Gen.* 43. 12 'ne forte errore factum sit' *þe læs þe ge sin gedwealde.*

[23] Note also *gewearð* in *Ex.* 12. 29 *hit gewearð to middre nihte.*

'facta est rixa'. *Gen.* 12. 10 wearð þa micel hungergear 'facta est fames'. *Gen.* 1. 5 þa wæs geworden æfen and morgen... 'factum est vespere et mane'... *Ex.* 10. 22 þystru wæron gewordene 'factae sunt tenebrae'. *Weorðan* is thus clearly identified with the idea of 'happening, occurring'.

2) It is frequently used to render *verto* or its compounds. For example: *Ex.* 7.9 and heo wirð to næddran 'vertetur in colubrum'. *Gen.* 3. 19 to duste wyrst 'in pulverem reverteris'. *Ex.* 8. 17 dust wæs geworden to gnættum 'versus est in sciniphes'. *Ex.* 7. 15 þe to næddran gewearð 'quae conversa est'.[24]

3) To carry the idea of *coepit*: *Gen.* 6. 1 Men wurdon þa gemenigfilde 'coepissent homines multiplicari'. Compare *Homilies* 1. 20. 21 þa wearð þa hrædlice micel mennisc geweaxen, a rendering of the same passage. *Ex.* 16. 20 hit wearð wyrmum acreoped 'scatere coepit vermibus'. *Num.* 21. 4 þæt folc þa wearð þrit and þearle geswenct 'taedere coepit populum'.[25] Similar translations of *coepit* are found in *Bede* 2. 118. 3 wearð fyre onbærned 'coepit flammis consumi', and *Matt.* 14. 30 ða he wearð gedofen 'cum coepisset mergi'.[26]

A. Normal use of *wearð* and *wæs* in the passive construction.

In the introduction, which is original and largely narrative in style, note: 8. 27 heora bendas sona wurdon forswælede and hig gesunde eodon heriende... god, þe hi swa geheold on þam hatan ofne, þæt heora fex næs furðon forswæled. 10. 44 Iob... wearð afandod þurh þone swicolan deofol, swa swa his boc us segð, þe he sylf gesette, siððan he afandod wæs. 12. 14 Moyses æ wæs... oð Iohannes wearð acenned... He ys ende þære eldan æ... and he wæs acenned on Christes tocime. The phrase *wæs acenned* is in a general statement, a repetition of the idea in *wearð acenned* with the element of time added for the sake of chronology. 15. 38 se þe wæs gecoren... þæt þæra apostola getel wurde gefylled.[27]

It is interesting to compare passages of the *Heptateuch* with the original Latin. Usually *wearð* corresponds to a Latin perfect, while

[24] The correspondence of the perfective *ge-* to the Latin *con-* is interesting.

[25] But *Ex.* 19. 16 we find 'coeperunt audiri tonitrua' rendered: *byman sweg wæs gehyred.* Compare 13 *þonne ge gehiron* for 'cum coeperit clangere'. A similar use of *wæs gehyred* is found in *Andreas* 1554.

[26] In *Luke* 21. 7 'cum fieri incipient' is rendered *þonne þas þing gewurðaþ*, in which *ge-* gives the idea of *incipient.*

[27] This is clearly a purpose clause. Compare *Homilies* 1. 88. 25 *wære gefylled* 'that it might prove true'.

wæs translates a pluperfect: *Gen.* 7. 21, 22 Wearð þa fornumen, wearð adyd 'mortua sunt'; 8. 1 wæteru wurdon gewanode 'imminutae sunt aquae'; 8. 2 ren wearð forboden 'prohibitae sunt pluviae'; 8. 11 undergeat... þæt þa wæteru wæron adruwode 'intellexit... quod cessassent aquae'; 8. 13 geseah þæt þære eorðan bradnis wæs adruwod 'viditque, quod exsiccata esset superficies terrae'; 19. 26 wearð awende to anum sealtstane 'versa est in statuam salis'. But there are plenty of evidences that the translator is following his instinct, and is not being held back by the Latin original from making his choice of *wearð* and *wæs*. In *Gen.* 7. 17, we find: wæteru wæron gemenigfilde (state), corresponding to 'multiplicatae sunt aquae'; and in 7. 18, the durative 'ferebatur' is rendered: se arc wæs geferud. In *Gen.* 13. 11, the story of Lot and Abram, 'divisi sunt' in the narrative statement is interpreted by *wurdon*: hig wurdon totwæmede heora ægðer fram his breðer; but 'postquam divisa est' in verse 14 is felt by the translator as an attendant circumstance, and hence he translates idiomatically: æfter þan þe Lot wæs totwæmed him fram.

Intelligent translating is also shown in the following group of quotations: *Gen.* 39. 20 (And wearp Josep on cweartern... and he) wæs þær belocen 'erat ibi clausus' 'and he remained locked up there'. *Num.* 12. 15 Maria wæs belocen seofan dagas butan þære wicstowe 'Exclusa est...' Compare Rahab's answer concerning the spies: *Jos.* 2. 5 (hig urnon... ut of þissere birig,) mid þam þe þa burhgatu belocene wurdon 'cumque porta clauderetur' 'just as the gate was being closed'.

The normal prose usage is found in *Ex.* 12. 30: micel hream wearð upasprungen 'et ortus est clamor magnus'. Compare the different stylistic use in poetry: *Beowulf* 128 þa wæs æfter wiste wop up ahafen.[28] The narrative statement is found in *Num.* 11. 1: þa wearð he yrre, and drihtenes fyr wearð onæled 'iratus est et accensus'. Note the choice of *wæs* in the repetition in verse 3: he nemde þære stowe naman 'Onal', for þam þe drihtenes fyr wæs þær onæled, in which the subordinate clause renders the Latin: 'eo quod incensus est'. þonne 'whenever', introducing as it does a clause of customary or repeated action, takes *wæs* regardless of the Latin imperfect: *Num.* 10. 35 þonne seo earc wæs upp ahafen, þonne cwæð Moises... 'cumque elevaretur arce, dicebat Moyses'. Similarly 36: þonne heo asett wæs 'cum deponeretur'.[29]

[28] For discussion of this passage and others similar, cf. p. 61.

[29] *Miðþampe*, when indicating an action taking place at the same time as the main action, takes *weorðan*. Cf. *Jos.* 2. 5 (quoted above).

Tō lāfe weorðan.

In Alfred's works *tō lāfe weorðan* was the rule.[30] Ælfric uses *tō lāfe wæs* also. In *Lives of Saints* 2. 263, *tō lāfe næs* occurs quite properly: (fire burned up the house) swa þæt ðær næs to lafe nanðing þe hyre wæs. In *Homilies* 1. 344. 15 Nigon engla werod þær wæron to lafe, and similarly 12. 5, reference is to the inactive hosts of angels which remained in heaven, after the fall of the others; there was no struggling on their part, as in the Alfredian battles, where *tō lāfe wear*ð was used. In the *Heptateuch,* there are a number of examples and the distinction between *weorðan* and *wesan* is clearly marked:

a) In past tenses: *Ex.* 14. 28 And adrencte hine selfne and eall his folc, þæt þær ne wearð furðon to lafe an 'nec unus quidem superfuit ex eis'. In the above passage, *tō lāfe wear*ð means 'escaped' as in those quoted from *Orosius.*[31] Different are the following in relative clauses: *Ex.* 10. 5 and hig fretaþ eall þæt þe growende on ys, þæt þam hagole to lafe wæs 'quod residuum fuerit grandini'; similarly, 10. 12. *Lev.* 8. 15 (of sacrificial blood) guton þæt þær to lafe wæs, under þæt weofod 'fudit reliquum sanguinem'; similarly, 24. Here the meaning is 'the rest', 'residuum'.[32]

b) In present tenses: *Ex.* 10. 26 Eall ure yrfe færð mid us; ne wyrð her nan to lafe 'non remanebit ex eis ungula'. This is a negative statement of action. Moses insists that all his people shall go. *Deut.* 28. 62 And eowre wurðaþ feawa to lafe, þe ær wæron swa heofones tungla is a prophecy of future events. Compare *Deut.* 4. 27 drihten eow todrifð... þæt eowre bið feawa on þam lande to lafe. Both are translations of 'remanebitis pauci numero', but the latter has been turned into a result clause, hence *bi*ð. Compare the use of *beon* in other examples: *Ex.* 12. 10 (passover) ne brece ge nan ban, ne þær ne beo nan þing to lafe on morgen. Gif hwat to lafe beo, forbærnaþ hit 'Nec remanebit... si quid residuum fuerit'. This is a resulting state, as shown by the phrase *on morgen. Lev.* 2. 3 And þæt þær to lafe bið, þæt bið Aarones 'quod reliquum fuerit'. *Ex.* 16. 23 and healdaþ oð morgen, þæt þær to lafe beo 'quidquid autem reliquum fuerit'; similarly, *Lev.* 26. 36 þa þe þær to lafe beoð 'qui de vobis remanserit' 'the remnant',

[30] See pp. 16–17.

[31] There is a curious passage in *Jos.* 10. 30 which renders 'dimiserunt in ea ullas reliquias' by a passive: *and þær wurdon on belæfde naht to lafe cucu.* This labored line may result from a desire to avoid the repetition of line 28: *and on hire ne belæfde nane lafe cucu* 'non dimisit... reliquias'.

[32] Compare *Ex.* 10. 15 *þæt nan þing næs grenes læfed* 'relictum est', which is similar to *Oros.* 88. 6. Also *Jos.* 10. 39 *ne let þær to lafe nan þing libbende* 'non dimisit in ea ullas reliquas'.

'the rest of you'. The frequency with which *þe wæs* (*bið*) *tō lāfe* renders the Latin *residuum, relictum*, while *wearð* (*wyrð*) *tō lāfe* renders a verb, is significant of the difference between state and action expressed.

The use of *weorðan* with *tō lāfe* is to be compared with that with *on flēame, tō nāhte*, etc.[33]

B. Extension of the use of *weorðan*.

I. With durative expressions:

Jud. 10. 8 Hi wurdon þa gehergode and gehynde for swiðe eahtyne gear 'afflicti sunt et vehementer oppressi'... Here the meaning of *hergian* seems to be 'were harried'. In *Num.* 14. 3 þæt we þær licgon[34] ofslagene and ure wif and ure cild wurdon[35] gehergode 'ne cadamus gladio, et uxores ac liberi nostri ducantur captivi', it is also durative, 'be led captive'. Similarly, *Intr.* 6. 22; 9. 36. The use of *wearð* with *acreopian* in *Ex.* 16. 20[36] is probably explained by the Latin *coepit*. The ingressive idea seems frequently to be a strong factor in the extension of the use of *weorðan* to durative expressions. The verb *ēaðmēdan* was not used with *weorðan* in Alfred's works, and the durative idea is marked by the expression of time in the following: *Jud.* 6. 2 (1) Hi wurdon swa geeadmette yfele heora feondum sume seofongear. Similarly, *Intr.* 11. 35. *Weorðan* probably has an ingressive force here also. *Lǣdan* occurs once with *weorðan*: *Gen.* 12. 15 þæt wif wearð þa læht and gelæd to þam cininge.

II. In summary statements.

Especially in the introduction, there is a tendency to use *weorðan* in narrative summaries, where merely a statement of fact is given. For example: *Intr.* 15. 20 Andreas bodode on Achaian lande and on Scithian and he syððan wearð on rode ahangen for hælendes naman. 24 Iohannes his broðor bodode... and he wearð na ofslagen. 27 Phillipus bodode... and wearð þa geendod. 31 Bartholomeus bodode... and

[33] *Bringan* is used as a causative to *weorðan* in such connections. See *Intr.* 7.20 *on fleame gebrohte þa Philisteos ealle* 'caused to take flight'. Cf. *Chron.* A.D. 1006. *Don* occurs similarly in *Intr.* 11. 42 *and he to nahte gedeð urne deriendlican fynd*; 6. 22 *to hospe gedon.*

[34] The use of such verbs as *licgan, sittan, feallan* in vivid passages instead of the usual auxiliaries *wesan* and *weorðan*, suggests that these were beginning to be felt as mere tense signs, and that a stronger intensive was needed to convey the full meaning. With *ofslagen* especially, this use seems to be significant. Note: *Num.* 21. 24 *oð þæt he feoll ofslagen; Jos.* 10. 10 *hi feollon þa swiðe on þam fleame ofslagene.* Similarly, *Jos.* 8. 25; *Jud.* 7. 25.

[35] *Wurdon* must be a confused form for the present here.

[36] Quoted above p. 44.

þær wearð ofslagen But 15. 35 reads: Simon and Iudas samod wæron gemartyrode[37] on Persida lande... While there is nothing unnatural in the use of *weorðan* in these statements, they are so colorless and formula-like that *wæron* would have been expected. *Wearð* seems to be little more than a tense sign here. The preference is significant for this reason.

§4. 'Wulfstan's Homilies'

'Wulfstan's Homilies' do not show as clear-cut a distinction between *weorðan* and *wesan* as do the works of Ælfric. There is frequent use of *weorðan*, which is striking when we consider how little narrative there is and how much emphasis is put on the abstract and the theological. The application of the present tense and the infinitive to future time is of especial interest:

3. 14 ðæt is þonne gelicost, þe we nu on carcerne syn betynede on þisse worulde, and eft þonne se gast wyrð ut of ðam lichoman alæd, þe he nu mid befangen is, þonne bið us gesewen, þæt us ær gesæd wæs. This occurs in a section which is more nearly narrative than any other in *'Wulfstan'*.[38] The use of *wyrð alæd* marks the moment of transition from the concrete present *syn betynede* to the abstract *bið us gesewen*, which carries practically the significance of future state. Whether *wyrð alæd* is felt to be present or future, it points to a momentary change of state. A similar distinction is found in 27. 11 gesælig bið þæt wered, þe þonne on domesdæge asyndred wyrð fram deofles gemanan.

Another interesting use of the present with a future sense is found in 71. 14 doð dædbote eowre synna, and eow sona wyrð heofona rices duru geara untyned, which translates the Latin 'penitentiam agite, adpropinquabit vobis regnum celorum'. Compare with this 239. 1–5 Wa ðæs mannes sawle, þe betynð his duru ongean godes þearfan...; swa him bið betyned heofona rices duru ongean, in which the *swa* clause is considered a statement of fact, or resulting state. Not the closing door, but the closed door is meant here.

Weorðan is frequently used in descriptions of the coming judgment day, and of the various phenomena which the author prophesied would attend it: 93. 19 and raðe æfter þam syððan astyred wyrð þurh godcunde mihte eal heofonlic mægen and eorðwaru aræred of deaðe to

[37] This passage is different from the others, however, since the verb has the clearly durative meaning 'persecuted', as shown by 37: *oð þæt man hig ofsloh.*

[38] This is one of the homilies which probably was not written by Archbishop Wulfstan. See Kinard, *Study of Wulfstan's Homilies.* It is included by Napier in his collection, hence is included in our study.

dome. 294. 9 and on þam dæge wyrð middangeard eall geendod. But a state of upheaval is expressed by *beon*: 25. 19–26. 2 ðær bið þonne on dæg gryre se mæsta, forðam þurh godes mihte bið eal astyred ge heofonwered ge eorðwered ge hellwered, and eal hit bið bifjende and cwacjende. ac ær gewyrð[39] ðurh godes mihte raðe toscaden þæt wered on twa. The action in this last sentence is sudden and momentary.

There are a number of good instances of *weorðan* used in the passive infinitive form: 140. 20 wa me earmre, þæt ic æfre geboren sceolde wurðan. 88. 19 sæde..., þæt his sceolde weorðan æghwylc stan on uferan dagum grundlinga toworpen. 96. 13 swa æfre ænig gold mæg clænost amerod weorðan. Similarly, 103. 19, 23; 276. 1. Instances of *beon*: 228. 22 þæt ge motan beon... godes bearn gecigede. 61. 10 sceoldan þa word beon ealle cuðlice gelæste and gefyllede. Also, 96. 5; 105. 32; 141. 2; 194. 3; 277. 3; 300. 16.[40]

As in the works of Ælfric, there is considerable extension of the use of *weorðan*. It should be emphasized again, that there is usually some explanation for the use of *weorðan* in these instances. There is a tendency to use *wearð* with *geboren* in connection with the birth of Christ, as: 14. 16; 15. 1, 6, 10; etc. It is found in relative clauses, when there is reference to a vivid incident in the past; likewise, it is apt to be used in summary statements of a narrative nature. One passage is worthy of special note: 285. 20 and syðþan he wearð geferod lichamlice... to þam uplican lyfte. *Ferian* would usually be considered durative, but here the meaning seems to be 'caught up' rather than 'carried'.

§5. Old English Gospels

The theory has been advanced by Drake[41] that the translation of the *West-Saxon Gospels* is not by a single author but by two, or probably

[39] Note the use of *gewyrð* instead of the simple *wyrð* as auxiliary of the passive. Only two other instances of *geweorðan* so used have been noted in *'Wulfstan'*, although it is commonly used in other constructions: 8. 7 *hy gewurdan of englum to deoflum gewordene* and 5. 12 *of eorþan gewurdan ærest geworhte þa ðe we sylfe ealle of coman.* Klaeber suggests that *gewurdan* here possibly 'preserved in a measure its independence, *geworhte* being added to reinforce the meaning of the verb'. For study of *geweorðan*, see Klaeber, *JEGPh.* 18. 250, 'Concerning the Functions of OE "geweorðan" and the Origin of German "gewähren lassen" '.

[40] For an extensive study of the infinitive, see Callaway, *Infinitive.* There seems to be some confusion or perhaps scribal error in 217. 9: *þæt þeos webruld mihte eft beon geedstaþoled weorðan.* Callaway (87) includes this instance under complementary infinitive, and construes *beon geedstaþoled* as the complement of *weorðan.* This hardly seems possible.

[41] Allison Drake, *The Authorship of the West-Saxon Gospels* (Columbia diss. 1894).

three, *Mark* and *Luke* being translated by one man, *Matthew* and *John* probably by two others, who, he thinks, may have worked jointly. As evidence of this, Drake has pointed out certain grammatical and lexical differences between the West-Saxon versions of *Mark* and *Luke* on the one hand, and *Matthew* and *John* on the other, also individual differences between *Matthew* and *John*. Additional evidence has been furnished by Harris,[42] Callaway,[43] and Shearin,[44] but Bright feels that these observations do not 'establish the divided authorship of the Version'.[45] On the basis of the present study of the use of *weorðan* and *wesan* and its relation to the style of the individual author, certain facts may be pointed out which further confirm the differentiation made by Drake.

It seems striking that the WS translator of *John* has used *weorðan* as auxiliary of the passive but once: *John* 5. 4 se þe raþust com... wearð gehæled 'sanus fiebat'.[46] To be sure, the original of *John* shows fewer passives than the other Gospels, and is less distinctly narrative, still there are passages where *weorðan* might naturally have been used, and has been used in the Gothic:[47] 12. 3 þæt hus wæs gefylled of ðære selfe

[42] L. M. Harris, *Anglo-Saxon Version of the Gospels* 34 (Baltimore 1897).

[43] Morgan Callaway, *The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon* 19.

[44] *The Expression of Purpose in OE Prose* 96.

[45] J. W. Bright, *Gospel of St. John* (Belles Lettres, 1906), p. xxv.

[46] Once also with an adjective: 6. 17.

[47] There is to be noted a marked preference for *waírþan* in the Gothic, whether due to the influence of the Greek aorist form, to which it often corresponds, or to the tendency of Wulfila to emphasize the action of the narrative rather than the result of the action. Especially frequent is the use of *waírþan* with adjectives. This preference of the Gothic for *waírþan* is less apparent to the casual observer, because of the frequent use of the grammatical passive form in the present, and of the active of verbs in *-nan*, which the Gothic favors as a substitute for the passive, e.g. *Mk.* 7. 35 *usluknodedun*; *Luke* 1. 41, 67 *gafullnoda*; *Matt.* 8. 13 *gahailnoda*; *Matt.* 8. 32 *gadauþnodedun*.

In only one instance has a passive with *wisan* been found in Gothic where the *OE Gospel* has *weorðan*: *Luke* 9. 32 Iþ Paitrus jah þai miþ imma wesun kauridai slepa; OE: Petrus 7 þa þe mid him wæron wurdon mid slæpe gehefegude 'grauati erant'. Taken in its context, the OE *wurdon* does not seem normal here, especially as a rendering of 'grauati erant'. Perhaps the expansion of the phrase 'qui cum illo' to the full clause with *wæron* may have obscured the pluperfect idea in the original. Yet the OE translator may have visualized the scene and had in mind not a natural fal ing asleep (this is the Transfiguration), but rather the sudden blinding by the light which produced an abnormal state of unconsciousness like sleep. Then verse 32 might be the beginning of the narrative proper, the preceding verses being a statement of facts. Note the construction in the Gethsemane scene: *Matt.* 26. 43 *soðlice heora eagan wæron gehefegode* 'erant enim oculi eorum grauati', where the pluperfect force is in keeping with the preceding *gemette hig slæpende.*

In the present, the Gothic uses forms of *waírþan* with a future force, often

swæcce 'domus impleta est odore ungenti' (Gothic: sa gards fulls warþ daunais); 18. 28 þæt hyg næron besmitene 'ut non contaminarentur'; similarly, 9. 2, 3, 10, 19; 6. 12; 5. 9. This striking absence of *weorðan* is distinctive of the translator of *John*.

The translator of *Matthew*, on the other hand, makes full use of *weorðan*, and, in particular, shows a certain fineness of style in his distinction between *wearð* and *wæs* in the past. In this he differs also from the translator of *Mark* and *Luke*. Note how *Matthew* uses *weorðan* with a future force, where the other Gospels use *beon* (*wesan*):

Matt.	*Mark* and *Luke*
10. 26 Nys soþlice nan þing dyhle þæt ne *wurðe geswutelod*, ne nan dihle þing þæt ne *wurðe geopenod* 'Nihil enim opertum quod non reuelabitur et occultum quod non sciatur'.	*Luke* 12. 2 Soðlice nis nan þing oferheled þe ne *beo unheled*, ne behydd þæt ne *sy witen* (Latin is identical with that of *Matt.*).
21. 19 ne *wurþe* næfre weastm of þe *acenned* 'numquam ex te fructus nascatur'.	(Cf. *Mark* 11. 14 ne ete ænig mann wæstm of þe 'manducet').
26. 31 ealle ge *wurþað geuntreowsode* on me on þysse nihte 'omnes uos scandalum patiemini in me in ista nocte'.	*Mark* 14. 27 ealle ge *beoð geuntreowsode* on þisse nihte 'omnes scandalizabimini in nocte ista'.

There is no instance of *weorðan* as auxiliary of the passive present in the other Gospels, although *Luke* has one with an adjective: 9. 27 her synd sume standende þa deade ne wurðaþ 'non gustabunt mortem'.[48] There are instances of *geweorðan* in the present in all three gospels.[49]

As regards the use of *wæs* and *wearð*, the stylistic preference for *wæs* at points of climax has been noted as a rhetorical device, found, e.g., in *Oros.* 110. 25 and 216. 25, and freely employed in OE poetry.[50] The translator of *Matthew* has used it effectively in telling the stories of the miracles:

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paralleling an OE *beon* (*Luke* 1. 32; 6. 21). Where the OE usually translates *factum est* by *wæs geworden* (occasionally *wearð*), the Gothic almost invariably has *warþ*, corresponding to the Greek aorist. The use of *waírþan* and *wisan* with adjectives etc. frequently corresponds with the OE translation.

[48] *Matt.* also uses *weorðan* with adjectives and with nouns: 12. 45 *wurðaþ... wyrsan þonne*; 13. 32 *wyrþ treow*.

[49] *Matt.* 4. 3 *to hlafe gewurðon* 'panes fiant'; *Luke* 21. 7 *þonne þas þing gewurðaþ* 'cum fieri incipient'; *Mark* 13. 4; 4. 11.

[50] See discussion of *Beowulf* and *Elene*.

Matt.	*Mark* and *Luke*
14. 20 hi æton ealle 7 *wæron gefyllede* 'saturati sunt' (Rushworth: *fulle wurdun*[51]).	*Mark* 6. 42 æton þa ealle 7 *gefyllede wurdon* 'saturati sunt'; *Luke* 9. 17 þa æton hig ealle 7 *wurdon gefyllede* (Gothic: *sadai waurþun*).
15. 37 æton ealle 7 *wæron gefyllede* (Rush.: *fylde weron* vel *wurdun.*). *John* 6. 12 has: Ða hig *fulle wæron.*	*Mark* 8. 8 æton 7 *wurdon gefyllede* (Gothic: sadai *waurþun*)
9. 30 (miracle of blind men) And hyra eagan *wærun ontynede* 'aperti sunt oculi'.	*Mark* 8. 25 (of another blind man) he geseah þa 7 *wearð geedniwod* 'coepit uidere et restitutus est' (Gothic: 'aftra *gasatiþs warþ*')
12. 13 (man with shrunken hand) 7 he hi aþenede 7 heo *wæs hal geworden* swa seo oþer 'extendit et restituta est sanitati'.	*Mark* 3. 5 aþenede hi. þa *wearð his* hand *gehæled sona* 'extendit et restituta est'. But *Luke* 6. 10 is similar to *Matt.*: *wæs geedniwod.*
9. 22 wif *wæs gehæled on þære tide* 'salua facta est' (Rush.: *warð ða hal*).	*Mark* 5. 29 sona *wearð.... adruwod* þæt heo.... gehæled wæs 'siccatus est.... quod sanata esset'.
8. 3 hreofla *wæs hrædlice geclænsod* 'confestim mundata est' (Gothic: suns *hrain warþ*')	*Mark* 1. 42 hreofnys him fram *gewat* 7 *he wæs geclænsod* 'discessit... et mundatus est' (Gothic: jah *hrains warþ*).
8. 13 se cnapa *wæs gehæled* on þære tide 'sanatus est'.	
13. 33 beorman... behydde... oð he *wæs eall ahafen* 'donec fermentatum est totum'	*Luke* 13. 21 behydde... oð hit *wearð eall ahafen* 'abscondit.... donec fermentaretur'.
17. 2 (transfiguration) 7 he *wæs gehiwod* beforan him 'et transfiguratus est ante eos'.	*Mark* 9. 2 7 *wearð* beforan him *oferhiwud* 'transfiguratus est coram ipsis'.

It should not be assumed from the above that *Matthew* avoids the use of *weorðan* in the past. Quite the contrary; there are plenty of instances where it is used naturally and effectively. In 27. 51, 52, *Matthew* uses *wearð* in agreement with *Luke*, while *Mark* uses *wæs*: þærrihte ðæs temples wahryft warð tosliten on tewgen dælas fram ufeweardon oð

[51] There are only 6 instances of *weorðan* in the Rushworth version, all in *Matt.*

nyþe-weard; 7 seo eorðe bifode 7 stanas toburston; 7 byrgena wurdun geopenode 7 manige halige lichaman ðe ær slepon aryson 'ecce uelum templi scissum est in duas partes a summo usque deorsum et terra mota est et petrae scissae sunt et monumenta aperta sunt'. Note the active *bifode* and *toburston* for the Latin passives, another indication of an excellent translator.

The scene at the baptism of Jesus is more effective in *Matt.* also:[52] 3. 16 Soþlice þa se hælend gefullod wæs. hrædlice he astah of ðam wætere 7 him wurdon þærrihte heofenas ontynede 7 he geseah... 'ecce aperti sunt ei caeli'. Compare *Mark* 1. 10 geseah opene heofonas 'uidit apertos caelos' and *Luke* 3. 21 heofon wæs geopenud 'apertum est caelum'. The interesting line: *Matt.* 14. 30 Ða he wearð gedofen, rendering 'coepisset mergeri', has already been alluded to in connection with a similar passage in the *Heptateuch* (see above, p. 44).

Some interesting passages in *Luke* and *Mark* deserve to be pointed out: *Luke* 1. 41 þa wearð Elizabeth halegum gaste gefylled 'repleta est'. Compare the story of Zacharias, *Luke* 1. 67: zacharius... wæs mid halegum gaste afylled 7 he witegode 'impletus est', which is a statement of the state of inspiration resulting from the change in verse 64: Da wearð sona hys muð 7 hys tunge geopenod 7 he spræc drihten bletsiende, or we may consider 67 a more general repetition of the individual incident in 64.

Mark 6. 26 (when Herodias' daughter asked for the head of John) þa wearð se cinincg geunret for þam aðe 'contristatus rex'. Compare *Mark* 10. 22 (rich young ruler) And for þam word he wæs geunret 7 ferde gnornigende 'qui contristatus in uerbo abiit'. Here state is expressed, while change of state is inferred in 6. 26. The Gothic makes a similar distinction: 6. 26 *gaurs waurþans*; 10. 22 *gaurs*.

The *Lindisfarne* gloss has no instance of *weorðan* used with a passive, but simple *warð* occurs: *Mark* 14. 17 efen warð. *Awarð* and *gewarð* also occur. Forms of *wesan* (*aron*) are used exclusively as passive auxiliaries. The Latin influence may readily be seen as in *Bede*. *Rushworth Matthew* has several instances of *weorðan*: 15. 24; 12. 45; 14. 20; 15. 37; 5. 6; 9. 22. The *Rushworth* gloss of the other gospels agrees with the *Lindisfarne* version.

[52] It is true, the Latin text is also fuller. These passages from *Matt.* are quoted, however, to show that the use of *wæs* above mentioned is not due to ignorance of the effective use of *wearð*.

§6. The Later Part of the Chronicle

Of the different manuscripts of the *Chronicle*[53], *E* is the fullest and the most important for our purposes. From A.D. 975 to 1132, it seems probable that the entries in *E* were made nearly contemporaneously with the events. The section from 1132 to 1154, Plummer concludes, could not have been written before 1154. Before 975, *E* has little original material except a few additions to early entries and the distinctly Peterborough additions which must be considered the work of the early 12th century.

From 975 to 1018,[54] the use of *weorðan* is very limited, in fact passive forms are not frequent, there seeming to be a strong tendency to use the active. When compared with the writings of the contemporaries Ælfric and Wulfstan, it seems strange that this should be so. *Man* is also infrequent before 1000, but from that time on, it gains in favor.[55] The single instance of *weorðan* between 975 and 1000 is of interest: 998 man oft fyrde ongean hi gegaderode. ac sona swa hi to gædere gan sceoldan. þonne wearð þær æfre þurh sum þing fleam astiht. Other instances after 1000 are: 1010 (p. 140m) 7 þær wurdon gehorsode; 1012 þa on þone Sæternes dæg wearð swiðe gestired se here ongean þone biscop; 1014 (145b) wearð þet earme folc þus beswican þurh hine; 1004 (135b) wærð... ofslagen; 1016 (152h) þær wearð ofslagen. In 1006, there seems to be a desire for variation: Wulfgeate wæs eall his are of genumen 7 Wulfeah 7 Ufegeat wæron ablende 7 Ælfelm ealdorman wearð ofslagen 7 Kenulf biscop forðferde.

From 1018 to 1067, there is noted the same preference for the active, with rather more frequent use of *man*.[56] Where the earlier section had *his lic liþ*, we find often *is bebyrged*, sometimes *wæs bebyrged*. The phrase *hine mann bebyrgede* occurs in entry 1066 (197t). There are few examples of *weorðan* in this section. In 1061: folgode þa Stigande arcbiscop 7 wearð gehalgod to abbod, the use of *wearð* is unusual for the *Chronicle*, although it is common in Ælfric's works. A good instance is: 1052 (177m) þa amang þison þa wearð Godwine... ge-

[53] The whole subject of chronology and the relation of the various MSS has been fully discussed by Plummer, see Earle and Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, Vol. II.

[54] The probable origin of this section was Abingdon or Canterbury. References are given by date of entry with page number in parenthesis.

[55] Is this tendency to think in the active to be attributed, perhaps, to the turbulent times, which seem to have had so little influence over Ælfric?

[56] Probably written at Canterbury.

warnod. Others are: 1048 (p. 176) wearð ða adrifen ut; 1044 wearð aflemed ut; 1052 (p. 180) oð þet folc... wearð swiðe astyred ongean þone cyng; and 1030 (the usual) 7 he wearð þær ofslagen.

From about 1070 to 1122, the language of *Chronicle E* is more developed. The use of *weorðan* and *wesan* is comparable with that of Ælfric and Wulfstan. New words and new idioms have come in, but *weorðan* seems to be used with these new verbs as with the old ones. Of the verbs not used with *weorðan* in *E* from 978 to 1070 but found so used in works of Ælfric, we find the following instances in this later section of the chronicle: 1095 *wearð agyfen*; 1093 *wearð geancsumed*; 1100 *wearð bebyrged*; 1119 *wearð beweddod*; 1086 *wearð gebletsod*; 1106 *wearð gefangen*; 1100 *wearð ofsceoten... gebroht*; 1119 *wearð gecoren*; 1075 *wearð gecydd*; 1094 *wearð gecyrred*; 1087 *wearð gedrefed*; 1100 *wearð forgifen*; 1110 *wearð fornumen*; 1106 *wearð gelæht*; 1116 *wurdon genumene*; 1093 *warð geseclod*; 1116 *wurdon geswencte*; 1093 *wearð underfangen*; 1095 *wurdon geypte* (in *Oros.*, not in Ælfric); 1118 *wearð gewundod* (*Oros.*).

The use of *weorðan* is extended to certain verbs of foreign origin by analogy, e.g.: 1120 wearð þurh þone papan wið þone cyng acordad; 1070 þa twegen kynas... wurðon sæhtlod; and *wurdon sæhte* in 1077, 1091, 1093, 1102, 1120. The adjective *gesene* is used with *wearð* in 1121, but there is no example of *gesewen* so used.

Beginning with 1122, we are dealing with the Peterborough Chronicle proper. There are few instances of the passive with *weorðan*, but sufficient to show that the form was still in use: 1125 On ðes ilces geares wearð swa micel flod... þæt feola tunes 7 men weorðan adrencte. 1128 oc se eorl wearð gewundod at an gefiht fram anne swein 7 swa gewundod he for to S' Berhtines minstre 7 sona þear wearð munec 7 liuode siððon fif dagas 7 he wearð þa dæd 7 þær bebyriged. 1129 he wæs clerc 7 wærd flemd ut of Rome fram þon oðer pape. There is almost no use of *man*. *Weax* should be noted in 1123 (253h), since it might be said to replace *wearð* there: weax þa micel unfrið betwux him 7 hise þeignas;[57] similarly, 1140 (266m) þer efter suythe micel uuerre betuyx þe king 7 Randolf; also in the second Peterborough interpolation: 656 (29) On his time wæx þet abdodrice Medeshamstede swiðe rice.[58] The Peterborough interpolations in *E*, which probably belong in this section chronologically,[59] show several instances of *weorðan* in the present.

[57] Compare *Oros.* 232. 31 wearð... unsibb... betuh Juliuse and Pompeiuse.

[58] *Wæx* in 1052 (183 l) is differently used.

[59] Several foreign words are used both in the interpolations and in this section.

The last section, which is in a single handwriting, begins at 1132 and cannot have been written until after 1154, according to Plummer. Of this section, Earle says: 'With this annal begins the final continuator... His work has not much chronological arrangement, but it is full of vigor, earnestness and pathos. The language is very rude. Saxon seems now to have reached the lowest stage of decline at which written literature is possible.'[60] But we certainly find an idiomatic use of *weorðan*: 1135 uuard þe suilc als it uuare thre niht ald mone... Wurþen men suiðe ofuundred 7 ofdred... þat ilc gær warth þe king ded; and in the same annal: hi togædere comen 7 wurðe sæhte. In 1154, the final annal: On þis gær wærd þe king Stephne ded 7 bebyried þer his wif 7 his sune wæron bebyried... þa was he underfangen... to king bletcæd; there is still a distinction between *wear*ð and *wæs*.

Manuscript *F* is a bilingual one, and evidently the work of a scholar. It is not a 'living chronicle' like *A* and *E*, but a compilation. In the entries before 777, which are peculiar to *F*, there is a highly developed use of *wear*ð; this is true also of the interpolations in *A*. Note: *F* 3 þæt cild Crist wearð geboren agean of Egiptan; 45 Her Iacobus... wearð ofslagen fram Herode; 50 Her Paulus gebunden wearþ gesend to Rome; 69 Paulus was ofslagen; 648 Her wearð getimbrod ðæt mynster; etc.[61]

From 777 to 798, the *F* manuscript is like *E*. In the margin at 798 is written: Alfhun... forðferde on Sudberi 7 he wearð bebyrged [on] Domuce 7 Tidfrið wearð gecoren æfter him... Her on þysum ylcan geare Wihtburge lichama wearð gefunden eal gehal... Also in the margin: 806... rode tacn wearð ateowed on ðam monan... trendel wearð ateowed abutan ðare sunnan. In 803, *F* has *wearþ gecoren*, where *E* has [*wæs*] *to arcbiscop gehalgod*.[62] There is another note in the margin at 829: Felogild... wearð æfter him gecoren... 7 he wearð gehalgud... he wea[rð] dead. Other examples are: 924 Her wearþ Eadward cing gecoren; 925; 931; 958; 961. The preference for *wear*ð is striking, especially in such statements of a summary nature as the above. Plummer concludes that *F* is a Canterbury MS, but notes six entries which show special interest in Winchester. This fact and the evidence that the compiler of *F* had access to both *A* and *E* as well as to other material, as well as the interest shown in Archbishop Dunstan and Bishop Æthelwold 'of Winceastre', make it plausible that this monk

[60] Earle-Plummer 2. 306.

[61] All of these are brief entries, so that context is entirely lacking.

[62] See Plummer edition, 1. 59, note 11.

was trained at Winchester, perhaps belonging to the school of Ælfric. At least, he writes in a language which is a continuation of that of Ælfric. Plummer assigns *F* to the 12th century, but Thompson and Warner are inclined to place it earlier.

The other manuscripts need not be taken up here. But it may be briefly noted that both *A* and *D* from 1000 on[63] show a use of *weorðan* which is highly developed. Altogether it looks as if the language had survived the influence of the Danish invasions, although noticeably changed and simplified. Evidently the use of *weorðan* has survived and developed; or are we dealing with the language of men trained in the school of Ælfric and his followers, and but partially touched by outside influences?

[63] Assigned by Plummer to the last of the 11th or the first of the 12th century.

IV. OLD ENGLISH POETRY

§1. Beowulf

Turning to the study of Old English poetry, one notes the more frequent use of *wesan*, often at points of climax, where, in prose, *weorðan* might have been used effectively. The idea of sudden change expressed by *weorðan* is characteristic of the prose narrative, while the poet is more subtle, and is apt to produce his effect by omitting the action, stating its result in a few words, and dwelling rather on the emotions brought out by the action. A classic example of the use of this poetic[1] device occurs in Dante's story of Paolo and Francesca, where the tragic moment is passed over, and only the brief statement is added:[2]

> Galeotto fu il libro, e chi lo scrisse;
> quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante.

A similar dramatic effect is produced in the *Edda* at the death of Sigurþ: 'Dælt vas at eggja óbilgjarnan, stóþ til hjarta hjǫrr Sigurþi'.[3] A search through modern English poetry for 'get, go, become', and other such auxiliaries which have continued the idea of *weorðan*, will convince one that the modern poet, as well, is not necessarily interested in the 'getting' or 'becoming', but rather in emotional causes and results.

In *Beowulf*, *wesan* is frequently used where *weorðan* would seem to be required to meet the standard set up by the study of passive forms in the prose of Alfred or Ælfric. Klaeber, in his introduction to *Beowulf*,[4] has pointed out the close relation between syntax and style in Old English poetry, calling especial attention to the 'preponderance of the nominal over the verbal element, one of the outstanding features of the ancient diction', which 'runs parallel to the favorite practice of stating

[1] It is perhaps misleading to call this a 'poetic' device, since it is also used effectively in prose, where an emotional climax is desired. On the other hand, we find some narrative poetry (*Daniel*, *Judith*, *Battle of Maldon*), where *weorðan* is frequent.

[2] 'The book, and he who wrote it, was a Galeotto; that day we read in it no farther.' Dante, *Inferno* 5. 136.

[3] 'The sword stood at his heart'; no gap is assumed by Neckel, *Sigurþarkviþa en skamma* 21.

[4] Pages lxvi f.; also cf. *ESt.* 57. 187–95, where examples are given.

merely the result of an action and of dwelling on a state or situation when a straightforward account of action would seem to be called for'.

This 'preponderance of the nominal over the verbal element' is one factor in the explanation of the infrequency of passive verb forms with *weorðan*, for *weorðan* is often used absolutely or with a predicate noun or adjective, to mark the transition into a new situation. Thus: 767 Denum eallum wearð /... eorlum ealuscerwen 'terror came to the Danes'. 1302 Hream wearð in Heorote. 1280 (at the entrance of Grendel's mother) þa ðær sona wearð / edhwyrft eorlum. 2392 Eadgilse wearð / feasceaftum freond. 2612 þam æt sæcce wearð, /... Weohstan bana 'to him in battle Weohstan became slayer'.[5] 409 Me wearð Grendles þing / on minre eþeltyrf undyrne cuð. 227 Gode þancedon / þæs þe him yþlade eaðe wurdon 'that the voyage was made easy for them'.[6] 816 (the turning point in the fight with Grendel) him on eaxle wearð / syndolh sweotol. 818 Beowulfe wearð / guðhreð gyfeþe.[7] 2482 Hæðcynne wearð, / Geata dryhtne guð onsæge.[8] Similarly, with a prepositional phrase: 1544 þæt he on fylle wearð, really 'he fell'. 905 he his leodum wearð / ...to aldorceare. 2078 him Grendel wearð, / ...to muðbonan.

A similar use of *wæs* to indicate the existence or duration of a state is frequent: 611 þær wæs hæleþa hleahtor. 89 þær wæs hearpan sweg, / swutol sang scopes. 1063 (showing an interesting variation of noun and verb forms) þær wæs sang ond sweg samod ætgædere / ...gomenwudu greted, gid oft wrecen. The use of *læg* and *stōd* with a strong durative function should be mentioned. There is no instance in *Beowulf* of the use of *læg* or *stōd* with a past participle as in prose. Note that the poet does not say 'were placed' but 'lay' (state) in 40: him on bearme læg / madma mænigo. 2978 þa his broðor læg 'when his brother lay wounded'. In 1570 Lixte se leoma, leoht inne stod, / efne swa of hefene hadre scineð / rodores candel, the durative idea is clearly brought

[5] Note that the customary prose form *wearð geslægen* is not found in *Beowulf*, but instead such a phrase as the above, or *to banan wearð* (460, 587, 1261, 1330); *hild nime* (452, 1481); *hyne wyrd fornam* (1205, 1436); *deaþ nime* (447, 441, 1491); *under rande gecranc* (1209).

[6] Compare *Brunanburh* 48 *ðæt hi beaduweorca beteran wurdon.*

[7] Note the use with *wesan* in 2491 *swa me gifeðe wæs* (parenthetical), and in 2682 *Him þæt gifeðe ne wæs* (a statement of fact).

[8] *Onsæge* is used with *wesan* in 2076 in a general statement of fact introduced characteristically by *þær*: *þær wæs Hondscio hild onsæge.* This is followed by the more specific narrative statement: 2078 *him Grendel wearð...to muðbonan.* For other uses of *wearð* with an adjective, see 282, 2066, 753, 913, 1269.

out by the comparison with the sun. In 783 Norð-Denum stod atelic egesa, one would expect the ingressive idea: 'they were struck with terror', but if we interpret literally, it seems to mean: 'there stood terror in the hearts of the North-Danes'.[9] Compare our modern 'stood spell-bound'.

Turning to instances of the periphrastic passive in *Beowulf*, those are of most interest where *weorðan* is not used. It seems quite safe to assume that the poet had a distinct feeling for the difference in the use of *weorðan* and *wesan*, and that when he used *wesan*, he intended his readers to get a definite picture of the state of things, or wished to produce an emotional effect by the brief statement of a tragic fact. Our interest in these passages becomes one of interpretation.

36 (the burial of Scyld) þær wæs madma fela / of feorwegum frætwa gelæded. This use of *wæs*, taken in its context, harmonizes with the picture and strengthens the effect. Note the duratives which are a

[9] Lorz (*Aktionsarten des Verbums im Beowulf* 36) attributes to *standan*, as well as to *licgan* and *sittan*, both durative and ingressive force, and interprets 783 as ingressive: 'den Norddänen entstand grausiger Schrecken'. Wuth, on the other hand, in his *Aktionsarten der Verba bei Cynewulf* 41, points out the clearly durative sense of *standan*, though admitting the possibility of an ingressive force in 783 and in *Andreas* 375: *wæteregsa stod / þreata þryðum*. He does not feel that a durative meaning is impossible in either of these. In defense of this view, Wuth calls attention to the modern English 'to stand in awe of', which is always durative. He also suggests that the apparently ingressive idea may be due to the emphasis on the fact (Konstatierung) rather than on the duration of state.

We may observe other examples of *standan*: 726 *him of eagum stod / ligge gelicost leoht unfæger*. This *stōd* has been interpreted 'shone forth', but the question may be asked, whether the poet meant to stress the sudden appearance of the horrible fire of Grendel's eye, which was at once apparent as Beowulf swung open the door, or whether this is again a clause of description, almost equal to 'there was a horrible fire shining from his eye'. Similarly of the fiery course of the dragon: 2313 *bryneleoma stod / eldum on andan*, and of the light in the dragon's cave: 2769 *of ðam leoma stod*. *Ex.* 201 is especially interesting because a passive verb with the auxiliary *wæs* (*wæs... wop up ahafen...*) occurs by the side of *Egesan stodon*. Why should we interpret this differently from the *standan* in *Ex.* 571: *Gesawon hie þær weallas standan*? Is it not possible that these stalking fears stood before the eyes of the people, in the mind of the poet, almost as the walls did in 571? Similarly: *Ex.* 459 *Streamas stodon;* 490 *egesan stodon*. *Ex.* 565 *segnas stodon* is rendered by Hunt: 'signals arose', but the description which precedes, as well as that which follows, makes it seem probable that the poet was describing the constancy of God's protection: 'there stood the beacon in the sky'. Note the context: 564 *After þam wordum werod wæs on salum* (a resulting state), / *sungon sigebyman* (also state), *segnas stodon / on fægerne weg*. *Folc wæs on lande; / hæfde wuldres beam werud gelæded... on hild godes.*

part of the description: 32 þær æt hyðe stod hringedstefna; 40 him on bearme læg / madma mænigo; and the indirect way of stating the action in 38: ne hyrde ic cymlicor ceol gegyrwan. Were this pure prose narrative, there might have been stress on the action, but the whole stylistic effect here is one of rest and of silent grief. The poet has chosen the moment after the action is completed, hence *þær wæs... gelæded.* Similar is the use of *wæs* in the burial-scene of Beowulf: 3134 þa wæs wunden gold on wæn hladen / ...æþeling boren.

128 (Đa wæs on uhtan mid ærdæge / Grendles guðcræft gumum undyrne;) þa wæs æfter wiste wop up ahafen, / micel morgensweg. (Mære þeoden, / æþeling ærgod, unbliðe sæt, / þolode ðryðswyð þegnsorge dreah, / ...wæs þæt gewin to strang, / lað ond longsum!) The context has been given in parentheses to show the nature of the word picture of which this is a part. It portrays the state of things resulting from the first night-visit of Grendel. Note the lack of action in the context and the durative verbs: *sæt, þolode, drēah.* It is not the discovery of the havoc, not the bursting into weeping, nor the breaking of the news to the king, which interests the poet, but the emotions of the people. There had been joy (*wist*) on the night before, and *hearpan sweg;* now there was weeping (*wop*) and *morgensweg*—clearly all durative action. There is a similar passage in *Ex.* 200: Forþon wæs on wicum wop up ahafen / atol æfenleoþ; compare *Gen. A* 987; *Andr.* 1155; 1554.

In 1288, we have a vivid picture of the scene at the entrance of Grendel's mother: Đa wæs on healle heardecg togen / sweord ofer setlum, sidrand manig / hafen handa fæst. Here again the stress is not on the action itself, but on the state of terrified action which endured. They drew their swords to no definite purpose, only in a wild effort at defense.

Similarly the use of *wæs* in 1399; þa wæs Hroðgare hors gebæted properly subordinates the phrase, which is of little importance to the action, yet adds distinctly to the picture. A stylistic effect is also created in 1629 Đa wæs of þæm hroran helm ond byrne / lungre alysed. Beowulf is resting in the care of his followers; the state not the action is stressed. From the poetic view-point, *wear*ð would be out of place. 1647 þa wæs be feaxe on flet boren / Grendles heafod describes an attendant circumstance, subordinated properly to the entrance of the hero.

A brief statement of fact calls for *wæs.* Thus, 491 þa wæs Geatmægum geador ætsomne / on beorsele benc gerymed 'a place was made for the Geats in the banquet-hall', 'they were welcome'. This is a

sort of transition statement. 1310 is similar: Hraþe wæs to bure Beowulf fetod. In 1677, the poet is not interested in the giving of the sword; it is introduced that he may tell its story, hence *wæs*: Ða wæs gylden hilt gamelum rince / . . . on hand gyfen.

In the *Finn Episode*, the action is summarized in 1151 Ða wæs heal roden / feonda feorum, swilce Fin slægen / . . . ond seo cwen numen. Probably the stress is on the idea of retribution; at any rate, this is not a narration of action, but a summary.

Just as the nominal element predominates over the verbal, so the use of *weorðan* in connection with the passive is less telling than its use with the noun or adjective. *Weorðan* is used in a passive construction 15 times. There is nothing especially noteworthy about any of these examples. It occurs 3 times with *syððan*: 6 syððan ærest wearð / feasceaft funden; similarly, 1947; 414; and 4 times in other subordinate clauses.[10] In the distinctly narrative passage before Beowulf jumps into the mere, *wearð* is fitting: 1437 Hræþe wearð on yðum mid eoferspreotum / heorohocyhtum hearde genearwod, / niða genæged ond on næs togen, / wundorlic wægbora. Similar is its use in the dragon fight: 2692 he geblodegod wearð / sawuldriore, swat yðum weoll. The choice of *gewearð* in 3061 is undoubtedly due to metrical demands: þa sio fæhð gewearð / gewrecen wraðlice.[11]

§2. Genesis A

In *Genesis A*, the same tendencies are to be noted as in *Beowulf*, a preference for *wæs* and corresponding tendency to stress result or state rather than action, and a more or less colorless use of *wearð* as auxiliary. The use of *weorðan* with nouns, adjectives, and phrases is effective.

Characteristic is the treatment of the story of the expulsion of Satan, where, instead of a statement of action,[12] the effect on Satan and that on heaven is given: 69 wæs him gylp forod, / beot forborsten and forbiged þrym, / wlite gewemmed; 83 Wroht wæs asprungen, / oht mid englum. We might have expected some such phrase as 'Thus Satan became humbled and the quarrels among the angels ceased', but our poet prefers to dwell on the state rather than the process. Similarly in the story of creation, *wearð* is not used but *wæs*: 150 Flod wæs adæled . . . wæter of wætrum. 162 ða gesundrod wæs / lago wið lande. 186 þa wæs

[10] 2218 (*þeah ðe*); 3177 (*þonne*); 2310 (*swa*); 2983 (ða).

[11] Probably the same explanation holds for *gewearð* in *Dan.* 147; *Andr.* 167; 804.

[12] Compare *Wulfstan* 9. 11.

Adames bryd / gaste gegearwod. Line 987 Æfter wælswenge wea wæs aræred, / tregena tuddor is to be compared with *Beowulf* 128.[13]

Weorðan is used effectively in 2564 (of Lot's wife) þæt heo on sealtstanes sona wurde / anlicnesse. It is the rule in recording births, as: 2297 þa wearð Abrahame Ismael geboren. Line 1765 is interesting because of its application to the future: oðþæt fromcynne folde weorðeð / . . . þine gefylled.

§3. Daniel

The vividness and intensity with which the poet presents the dramatic story of the fiery furnace has given frequent occasion for the use of *weorðan*, in both past and present. In comparison with *Genesis A*, there is a rapidity and definiteness of action which was entirely lacking in that poem. In producing an effect, an exactly opposite method is used in the two poems, the climaxes in *Genesis* being, as was pointed out above, clauses of result or state with *wesan*, while in *Daniel*, the poet cares little for the result but punctuates his climaxes with *weorðan* at the exact turn in the action. The difference is as much one of style as of syntax.

Compare the expulsion of Satan, quoted above, with that of Nebuchadnessar *Dan.* 612: ða for ðam gylpe gumena drihten / forfangen wearð and on fleam gewat. In the fiery furnace: 260 (the youths praised God) under þæs fæðme þe geflymed wearð / frecne fyres hæto 'under whose protection the terrible heat of the fire was turned back'. The narrative goes on: 261 freobearn wurdon / alæten liges gange 'the youths were let alone by the course of the fire'. 351 wearð se hata lig / todrifen and todwæsced, þær þa dædhwatan / geond þone ofen eodon 'wherever the brave ones went about the furnace, the hot fire was driven back and quenched'. Compare the result clause: 342 þæt hyra lic- wæs / owiht geeglod.

That the use of *weorðan* was as natural in the present a- evidenced by two strikingly beautiful similes used i- scene of the fiery furnace: 274 ac wæs þær inne gelic- sumera sunne scineþ / and deawdrias on dæge w- sawen. 346 wedere gelicost, / þonne hit on sum- dropena drearung on dæges hwile.

In 434, the result of the episode forburnene, þe him on banum lagon, /

[13] Discussed above, p. 61.

hyra wlite gewemmed ne nænig wroht on hrægle, / ne feax fyre bebeswæled. The final outcome of the incident, however, was the rewarding of the youths and their people, of which the poet says: 455 dom wearþ æfter duguþe gecyðed, siððan hie drihtne gehyrdon.

It has been seen that *Genesis* and *Daniel* are different in their style and in their use of the passive. Although *Genesis* has several scenes which have dramatic possibilities almost equal to those of *Daniel* (the flood, Sodom and Gomorrah, Abraham and Isaac, Cain and Abel), the author has chosen to express state rather than action, and except for the almost formula-like *wearð feded* (*geboren*), the use of *weorðan* is infrequent. In the shorter *Daniel*, *weorðan* occurs with 12 different verbs. It seems hardly possible that *Genesis* and *Daniel* could have been written by the same author.

§4. Cynewulf and his Followers

In Cynewulfian poetry also, there is a relation between style and the use of *weorðan* and *wesan*. The story of *Juliana* gives opportunity for dramatic effect. The circumstances which lead up to the action proper are told briefly and without emotion; her betrothal to the rich heathen is announced characteristically in 32 with: Ða wæs... biweddad; her refusal to marry him arouses his wrath (58: *wearð yrre gebolgen*); and there follow the quick angry commands for her persecution (227 *het / ahon ond ahebban* etc.). The period of suspense in the prison is effectively introduced with the statement of fact with *wæs*: 236 Ða wæs mid clustre carcernes duru / behliden, homra geweorc; halig þær inne / wærfæst wunade. In 584, there comes the climax of the action when the bath of molten lead and the fire destroy the heathen, while Juliana is spared: þa toscaden wearð / lig tolysed; lead wide sprong, / hat, heorogifre. [H]æleð wurdon acle / arasad for þy ræse;... 589 Ða gen sio halge stod / ungewemde wlite; næs hyre wloh ne hrægl / ne feax ne fel fyre gemæled. Similarly *wearð* is used in the final climax where Juliana learns she is to be slain.

In *Elene*, there is little emphasis on action, except in the battle scene. *Weorðan* is used in relating events which took place before the story rather than at climaxes. Especially in connection with incidents in the life of Christ, *weorðan* occurs. In two instances, a passive with *wæs* is used in a moment of suspense just before a climax: 884 (testing the three crosses) þa sio þridde wæs / ahafen halig, hra wæs on bide, / oð ðæt
ɛɛ ·m uppan æðelinges wæs / rod aræred... 888 He sona aras 'the corpse
· waiting until the Savior's cross was raised quite up on top of him...

then he arose'. The other passage occurs in the midst of battle: 123 þa wæs þuf hafen, / segn for sweotum, sigeleoð galen. The real climax follows: 126 hæðene crungon, / feollon friðelease... Wurdon heardingas / wide towrecene. In both of these instances, the suspense is heightened by the use of *wæs*, and the climax follows immediately.

The *Andreas*, in its use of *weorðan* and *wesan*, very nearly approaches that of Ælfric in *Lives of Saints*. Of special interest is the idiomatic use of the present of *weorðan* in the conversational passage beginning 203 (the Lord speaking to Andrew) þæt ðu a woldest / þæs siðfætes sæne weorðan! Nis þæt uneaðe...ðæt sio ceaster hider... aseted wyrðe. 211 Ne meaht ðu þæs siðfætes sæne weorðan... 215 ne mæg þæs ærendes ylding wyrðan / ðu scealt... geferan... ðær þe guðgewinn... geboden wyrðe.

Another passage of special note is the description of the storm beginning 369: þa gedrefed wearð, / onhrered hwælmere; hornfisc plegode... streamas styredon, strengas gurron, / wædo gewætte. Wæteregsa stod / þreata þryðum; þegnas wurdon / acolmode. The meaning 'water-terror', given by Krapp for *wæteregsa*, would make the phrase *wæteregsa stod* parallel with *þegnas wurdon acolmode*, but it seems quite possible that the word here means simply 'storm' or 'surging ocean', as in 435, and refers to the objective 'terror of the water' rather than to the subjective feeling roused in the men. This would take away any need for translating *stod* with an ingressive force,[14] and the phrase would be taken with the preceding description of the elements, i.e. 'the sea-storm raged' or more literally 'the water-terror stood (raging) before them'. The period might then be shifted from its present position after *gewætte* to the point after *þryðum*, and *þegnas wurdon acolmode* would, as it should, introduce a new element in the description, namely the subjective change in the men themselves.

§5. Metrical Version of the Psalms

A study of the use of *weorðan* and *wesan* in the paraphrase of the *Psalms* adds little in a positive way to that of other works. *Weorðan* occurs frequently, and there is considerable confusion between *weorðan* and *geweorðan*, though probably metrical requirements are more or less responsible for this interchange. The author seems to have little skill. The frequency of the use of *weorðan*, however, is noteworthy.

[14] Cf. *El.* 113 *hildegesa stod* 'battle-terror stood at their hearts'. For discussion of *standan* in this construction, see p. 60, n. 9.

§6. Judith

In *Judith*, we find a spirited poem of action, comparable in style to the later *Battle of Maldon*. The slaying of Holofernes, the surprise and joy of the people at the return of Judith, the clash of battle, and the bold dash of the soldier into the tent of Holofernes, which marks the turning point of the battle and the beginning of flight—all of these incidents call for verbs of action, usually active verbs. Frequently a new turn in the action is introduced by *ða wearð*, either as a passive auxiliary or with a noun phrase or an adjective following.

Note the description of Holofernes' mirth in lines 21–9: Ða wearð Holofernus, / goldwine gumena, on gytesalum; / hloh and hlydde, hlynede and dynede, etc., and the contrast in 30: oðþæt hie on swiman lagon, /... swylce hie wæron deaðe geslegene, where the passive with *wæron*, coupled with *lāgon*, produces the stylistic effect; similarly in 57. Judith's quiet, appealing prayer is followed by the stir to action. Her sudden impulse is characteristically phrased: 97–116 þa wearð hyre rume on mode, / haligre hyht geniwod; (note the active verbs which follow) genam ða þone hæðnan... teah hyne folmum... listum alede... Sloh ða...þæt he on swiman læg (a pause introduced:) Næs ða dead þa gyt...(again action) sloh ða...(followed by result:) læg se fula leap / gesne beæftan, gæst ellor hwearf... and ðær genyðerad wæs, / susle gesæled syððan æfre, / wyrmum bewunden, witum gebunden, / hearde gehæfted...

The return of Judith brings a moment of rejoicing: 159 þa wurdon bliðe burhsittende, and again as the folk gather about her: 166 æghwylcum wearð / men on ðære medobyrig mod areted. The scene of battle calls for active verbs and *weorðan* is the auxiliary of the passive whenever that voice is used (199, 216, 265). Especially interesting is the climax in 274. The soldiers were trying to rouse Holofernes from without the tent but without success: 274 him wiht ne speow. Then one breaks into the tent: 275 þa wear[ð] [s]ið and late sum to ðam arod /...[þæt] he in þæt burgeteld / niðheard neðde.

The usage here is practically that of late prose. *Wesan* as an auxiliary is only used to produce the stylistic effect described above.

§7. Battle of Maldon[15]

The *Battle of Maldon* is another example of a poem of narrative type, in which *weorðan* is used almost exclusively as the passive auxiliary.

[15] A comparatively late poem, written about 991.

The opening of the battle is heralded with the strong lines: 106-7 þær wearð hream ahafen, [h]remmas wundon, / earn æses georn; wæs on eorþan cyrm. The events of the narrative follow each other in quick succession: 113–119 Wund wear[ð] Wulfmær, wælræste geceas, / Byrhtnoðes mæg, he mid billum wearð, / his swustersunu, swiðe forheawen. / þær wærð wicingum wiþerlean agyfen; / gehyrde ic þæt Eadweard anne sloge / swiðe mid his swurde, swenges ne wyrnde, / þæt him æt fotum feoll fæge cempa... There is an effective moment of rest in the action in 144: he wæs on breostum wund / þurh ða hringlocan, him æt heortan stod[16] / ætterne ord. Also note the effect in 157, and the similarity to passages in *Beowulf*: ord in gewod, þæt se on eorþan læg, / þe his þeoden ær þearle geræhte. The result of the cowardice of Goðric, who deceived the people into thinking that he was Byrhtnoth, is stated in a *forþan* clause, and is rendered vivid by the use of *wear*ð: 241 forþan wearð her on felda folc totwæmed, / scyldburh tobrocen. The same may be said of its use in 288 with *raðe*.

Altogether, the poet of the *Battle of Maldon* seems to have been an artist in producing vividness of action, breathless pauses, and intervals of rest. The use of *weorðan* is in some respects like that in *Daniel* and *Judith* and marks a successful attempt to take over the prose usage of Alfred and Ælfric into poetry.

[16] This is very much like the passage quoted above from the *Edda*. See p. 58.

V. MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD

§1. Examination of Texts

Turning to an examination of Middle English texts, one feels almost that *weorðan* has become an archaism. It occurs 22 times as an auxilary in the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus*, but the expression seems to have lost its old vigor. It is found in concessive and conditional clauses, rather than at points of action, and the subjunctive idea seems dominant.

Some examples from *Genesis and Exodus* are: 2332 Quatsoeuere on londe wurð stolen. 634 Quat wreche so ðor wurðe numen. 3559 If he nu her wurðen slagen. 641 wreche ðat sal get wurðen sent, wan al ðis werld wurðe brent. 2423 ðat quan it wurð mid him don. 3721 (Betre is us...) ðan we wurðen her swerdes slagen. 2429 so wæs him lif to wurðen leid. *Wurðen* has distinctly future force in 1943 Get wurðe worpen... 2074 þat ic ut of prisun wurðe don. 2135 ðat ðin folc ne wurð undernumen. It is used twice after *hu* in indirect discourse, and three times with a future force as infinitive (twice after *sal, suldes*). When used in main clauses, the phrase seems colorless. Note, on the other hand, the new use of *wente*, where the Old English used *wearð*: 1120 wente into a ston; 321 Wente in to a wirme. Compare the similar passages from Ælfric: *Gen.* 19. 26 wearð awende to anum sealtstane; *Ex.* 7. 9 and heo wirð to næddran.

It is an evidence of the archaic quality of *wurðen* that it occurs more frequently in this biblical story—where one might expect to find archaisms if anywhere—than in any other Middle English text. This also explains its use in the *Lambeth Homilies*, two of which are modernizations of Ælfric's *Homilies*. In the one entitled 'In die Pentecosten'[1], borrowed from Ælfric's homily of the same title[2], the OE *wurdon, wearð* are usually altered to *weren, were*, but in 4 instances the archaic *iwarð* is substituted; for *þa wurdon hi onbryrde* (314. 32), the *Lambeth* version has the active *iturne heore mod* (91. 11). In the 24th *Lambeth Homily*, however, the adapter—a different one probably—has retained every

[1] R. Morris, *OE Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (*EETS* 29, 34), No. 9.

[2] Ælfric, *Homilies* 1. 314 ff.

one of Ælfric's constructions with *weorðan*,[3] not even modernizing the spelling in some cases.

In the *Ormulum*, there is some slight use of *wurðen*, but it seems archaic, rather than vigorous. Thus in the dedication, we find stock phrases to fill out the lines, such as: 183 þurrh þatt he comm to manne, annd þurrh þatt he warrþ mann onn erþe; 187 þurrh þatt he comm to wurrþenn mann forr all mannkinne nede. There are 3 instances of *wurðen* with the passive in the first volume: *Ded.* 128 to wurrþenn borrȝhenn; 45 Butt iff he wurrþe lesedd ut off...; 147 he warrþ drefedd & forrdredd. In 13678, we find the interesting line: he warrþ till atell defell þær off shene...enngell.

In the first volume of Laȝamon's *Brut*, where there are parallel texts from the earlier and the later part of the 13th century, *wurðen* is used only twice as a passive auxiliary in the earlier text, and both of these instances are altered in the later text. In other instances where *wurðen* occurs in the earlier text, the tendency of the later text has been to substitute either the active or a form of *weren*.[4]

Havelok the Dane, a text of about 1300, has only four instances of *wurðen*, all hortative: 434 Waried wrþe he of norþ and suth. 1102 Hanged worþe he on an hok! 2221 Euere wurþe him yuel and wo! 2873 Blissed worþe his soule ay! This almost total absence of *wurðen* is characteristic of style as well as syntax here. Compare, for example, 824 Bifel it so, a ful strong dere / Bigan to rise of korn of bred, / That Grim ne couþe no god red, with the description of the famine in *Orosius* 32. 25: mid Egyptum wearð syfan gear se ungemetlica eorðwela etc. There are very few places where we can definitely say that *weorðan* would have been used in Old English.

In *Piers the Plowman* and in Chaucer's works, there occurs the interesting *lete worthe* 'let be'[5]: *Piers Pl.* C 1. 201[6] lete the cat worthe; *Troilus and Criseyde* V. 329 But lete him worthen with his fantasye; and other instances. In *Piers Plowman*, there are a number of instances of *wurþen* with passive force, all having a present or future significance: C 10. 238 Ich drede me, and he deye. hit worth for dedlich synne / accounted byfore Crist. B 12. 277 Ne no creature of Cristes lyknesse

[3] Ælfric, *Homilies* 1. 8 ff.

[4] But in *Brut* 142. 22, we find the phrase: *wa worðe þan monne*, which endured down to the time of Scott. Similarly, *Tr. & Cr.* IV. 754.

[5] See Klaeber, *JEGPh.* 18. 250, for discussion of *geweorðan* and its relation to the German 'gewähren lassen'.

[6] References are to the Skeat edition.

withouten Crystendome worth saued. C 3. 41 Tomorwe worth Mede wedded to a mansed wrecche. C 2. 185 Chastite withoute charite worth cheynid in helle. C 3. 248 thorw hem worth harmed for euere. A 6. 102 And so worthestou idriuen out and the dore i-closet. C 10. 321 For ho so doth wel here at the daye of dome / Worth faire underfonge by-for god that tyme. In Chaucer the function of *weorðan* is limited to that of the absolute *worth* as in *Tr. and Cr.* II. 1011 Worth thou upon a courser right anoon. IV. 763 Wo worth that day.[7]

§2. The Disappearance of Weorðan

When and why did *weorðan* drop out of the English language? It is impossible to answer this question except in a general way. Certainly our study has shown definitely that it is not 'being crowded out by *beon*' in any of the Old English literature, as has been stated by Fijn van Draat.[8] Neither can the preference for *wesan* in *Beowulf* justify the conclusion of Lussky[9] that '*weorðan* seems to be dying out and to be replaced by *wesan*'. Quite to the contrary, the use of *weorðan* has been found to be on the increase in West-Saxon literature at least through the time of Ælfric and Wulfstan.[10] In fact, Old English of that period seems to show about the same stage of development in the use of the passive as Old High German. At the beginning of the Middle English period, however, as we have seen, *weorðan* is practically an archaism, while in the West-Saxon version of the *Gospels* and even in the later part of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and in such poems as *Judith* and the *Battle of Maldon*, *weorðan* is found in all its vigor. Some time between the latest Old English (literature) and the earliest Middle English, some influence, probably foreign, brought about this changed condition.

In his discussion of *beon* and *wesan*,[11] Jost concludes that the optative *beo* in the late OE period became identical in function with *weorðe*, thus making the latter unnecessary. He suggests that this may be the cause of the disappearance of *weorðan*. This can hardly be, since it is

[7] Mention may be made of the instance in *Adam Davy's Dreams*, also in the London dialect; Emerson, *A Middle English Reader* 228. 32: *Emperour ychosen he worþe of cristiente.*

[8] *ESt.* 31. 379.

[9] *JEGPh.* 21. 68.

[10] Sievers, *Ags. Gram.* §350: 'Das passivum wird... mit dem hilfsverbum *beon, wesan*, seltener mit *weorðan* umschrieben', is a bit misleading and should, at least, be qualified, if not altered.

[11] *Angl. Forsch.* 26. 127.

chiefly in the optative and imperative forms, as we have seen, that *wurðen* does occur in Middle English.

Maetzner's suggestion[12] of foreign influence is probably the correct answer to the 'why' of the disappearance of *weorðan*. It is not necessary, however, to limit foreign influence to the French. The relation of the French and the English was one of conqueror and conquered, a relation less apt to affect the language than that of peaceful neighbors, which was the state in which the 'Danes' and the English found themselves for several centuries. The Scandinavian, being so closely akin to the Old English, was more easily confused with the latter, and though the influence of Old Norse may have been a less tangible one, it was more lasting than that of the French. As was noted in the introduction,[13] the verb *verþa* was frequently used in Old Norse, but rarely as a passive auxiliary and only in a later period. The normal passive form was the reflexive in *-sk*, or the periphrastic with *vesa, vera*. Thus in the direct contact of daily conversation between the 'Danes' and the English, there must have been a negative influence which would tend towards the disuse of *weorðan* in the common speech. Such an influence would not be noticed for some time in the literary language, especially since most of the literature of the time was composed in the monasteries of the southern section of England where there was little contact with the 'Danes'. How strong such a negative influence may be, has been shown by the almost total absence of *weorðan* in the Old English *Bede*, a peculiarity which can only be explained by the lack of a similar construction in the Latin model.[14] Ælfric's disregard of *weorðan* in translating the paradigms in his Latin Grammar is another example. In those works, however, we were dealing with a literary influence, while the Scandinavian influence was a direct one of speaker on speaker; the Englishman grew accustomed to the absence of *weorðan* in the Danish-English speech of his neighbor, and either unconsciously or in order to

[12] *English Grammar* 2. 59: 'The English passive formed by union of tenses of "to be" with the participle of the perfect of transitive verbs, agrees completely with the French passive, so far as this is formed by "être" with the corresponding particle. For, although Anglo-Saxon employed *wesan* with *beon*, along with *weorðan*, to form the passive, yet neither are all forms of the passive developed from "be" mixed with other stems to be explained by the Anglo-Saxon, nor is the gradual abandonment of *weorðan* to be explained otherwise than by the influence of the French principle of formation, whose encroachment was supported by the forms common to the Anglo-Saxon and French.'

[13] Page 10 above.

[14] See p. 30.

be better understood, he avoided the use of *weorðan* when talking with a 'Dane'. Since the use of *weorðan* as a passive auxiliary had come to be its chief function in the language, this would naturally lead to its disuse in other constructions, till it became a mere formula in 'Woe worth the day'.

In support of this view, we may note the Scandinavian influence on English grammar as shown in the inflections of nouns, of verbs, and of pronouns. While the Old English formed the plural of masculine and feminine nouns by different endings *-as, -a, -e, -an,* the Old Norse (9th century) used *-az* or *-ez*.[15] So the English speaking Dane naturally formed the plurals of English words as he did those of his own language, and in common speech the endings *-a, -e, -an* gave way to the convenient *-s*, which came to be felt as the sign of the plural. The same thing occurred in the genitive singular of the *o*-stems, where the Old Norse early adopted the ending *-az* of the *i-, u-,* and *ā-stem* declension. The Northumbrian, especially, shows this same tendency early, while by Middle English times, *-s* has become the normal ending in the genitive singular. The use of *-s* in the 3rd person singular of the present tense instead of the OE *-eð* may also be attributed to Scandinavian influence. All of these changes are noticed earlier in the Northumbrian, as might be expected, since the Scandinavians settled more in the northern part of England.

Wyld, in his *Short History of English*,[16] suggests that many changes which were not apparent in the written English until the Middle English period, were really already present and developing in current speech long before, but that the natural tendency of the writers to be conservative held them to the older forms. It hardly seems possible that the vigorous Old English *weorðan* could have fallen into disuse so suddenly as it appears to have done in the Middle English literature. Its suppression was undoubtedly due to the influence of foreign speech, an

[15] This statement is mainly based on the views of W. Keller, who holds that the change of *z* to *r* did not take place before the 10th century (cf. W. Keller, 'Skandin. Einfluss in d. engl. Flexion' 80 ff., *Probleme der Engl. Sprache u. Kultur, Hoops-Festschrift,* 1924). Strong arguments to the contrary, it is true, have since been presented by Jiriczek in a paper, *Engl. Stud.* 60. 217–37. See also Johanneson, *Grammatik der urnordischen Runeninschriften* 102 note, Heidelberg, 1923. Even if this be doubted, it might be urged (with E. Classen, *Mod. Lang. Review* 14. 94–6) that the absence of the *-n* plural in Old Norse was, in a way, a negative help in promoting the ascendency of the *-s* plural in Old English.

[16] Page 148.

influence which, in matters of syntax, though strong, is so gradual and so intangible as not to be felt until a generation or two have passed.

It is interesting to note, as Smith has done in his article *Interpretative Syntax*[17], that, while the word *weorðan* has succumbed to foreign influence, its spirit is still present in the Modern English 'get', which, in spite of the constant efforts of grammarians and teachers of English, has not been abolished, but rather seems to be increasing in favor in the common idiom.

[17] Referred to above, p. 13.

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VITA

The author was born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on May 11, 1891, and was educated in the Minneapolis Public Schools. She attended Oberlin College, receiving the degree of A.B. in 1913, and that of A.M. in 1914. From 1915 to 1918, she was a graduate student at the University of Minnesota, and assisted in the departments of German and of Comparative Philology. She has taught in the Minneapolis Public Schools and at the University of Minnesota.